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# THE TRVE SVBIECT TO THE REBELL.

## OR THE HVRT OF SEDITION, HOW GREIVOVS IT IS to a *Common-wealth.*

written

By S^r IOHN CHEEKE Knight (*Tutor* and *Privy-Councellour* to King EDWARD the sixt) 1549.

Whereunto is newly added by way of Preface a briefe discourse of those times, as they may relate to the present, with the AUTHORS life.

*OXFORD*,
Printed by LEONARD LICHFIELD, Printer to the Vniversity. *Anno Dom.* 1641.

# THE PREFACE.

THis Diſcourſe of the Hurt of Sedition, *was not intended by the Author as a Prophecy for any future times, but meerely occaſioned by the ſad ſtory of thoſe preſent diſtractions, wherein he had no part but as a Spectator. If it be now thought any way lyable to an application, that muſt be imputed to the common fate of humane affaires*, quibus ineſt quidam velut orbis: & quemadmodum temporum vices, ita morum vertuntur. *For upon this common Stage of the world, though the Actors change daily, & have their laſt* Exits *after which they return no more; yet there is a continuall recurrence of the ſame Pageants, parts and humours to be repreſented by other perſons.* Vitia erunt donec homines. *Covetouſneſſe and ambition, and ſuch active vices are ſeldome off the Theatre, though they doe as ſeldome appeare there in their own faces, but with the borrowed maſks of publique good, the honour or peace of the State, the propagation or reformation of Religion.* Privatæ cauſæ pietatis aguntur obtentu, & cupiditatum quiſq; ſuarum religionem veluti pediſſequam habet. *The meaneſt capacities are not unskilled in theſe ordinary artifices: conſult the ſtorie of thoſe times under* EDWARD *the* VI. *and you ſhall meet with inſolent demands from ſome rebellious ſubjects againſt the forme of religion then eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament:*

*others you ſhall finde ſitting under their* Oake of Reformation *upon the life and death of all civility and learning. Againſt both which our Author directs his reaſons. This contagion was ſo ſpreading, that I finde twelve ſeverall Shieres infected with it, and almoſt forty thouſand perſons, a great number, but yet no army. They had all the advantages which they could deſire except a good cauſe, and an able Leader. They met with a young Prince, in the beginning of his reigne; with a late and great alteration in religion, which was never obſerved to goe alone; with a many ſecret jealouſies and envyings in the Nobilitie, which after burſt out into open defiance; with a generall aptneſſe to mutinie in the vulgar, who had been formerly Tenants to religious houſes, and complained now as well of new Lords as new Lawes; with an univerſall ſtupor & lethargy in moſt men of the long Robe, which were lately frighted out of a great part of their wits as well as their meanes: many of them ſo unable to inſtruct others, that it ſeemes they had ſcarce ordinary diſcretion to governe themſelves. The very Univerſities, which had been the glory, were now become the ſcorne or pitty of the Kingdome; their Libraries robbed and ſpoiled either by pretended authority, or connivence; their liberties and priviledges invaded and borne downe by the prevailing parties, the Townes-men of* Oxford *and* Cambridge. *Much of their preſent maintenance, and the maine hopes of their future preferment taken from them: at leaſt in their opinion, when they ſaw moſt or all the revenues of their Colledges given to the King; ſome Biſhopricks actually diſſolved, & the whole juriſdiction enclining to a ruine. This did ſtrike them with ſuch a* Panick *feare as did juſtly deterre parents from beſtowing upon their children that ingenuous education which was attended with ſo great charges and ſo ſmall hopes. And ſuch as were already entred upon that way, were forced to quit their profeſſions & betake themſelves to another kinde of life. Inſomuch that I finde one houſe of learning in* Cambridge *pitifully complaining, that* the great dearth of things, and the litle charitie of men had driven away more good wits from that one Colledge then

then were left in the whole Vniverſitie. *The words are part of a Letter from* S^t Iohns *Colledge to the Duke of* Somerſet *Lord Protector. In which there are ſo many other things conſiderable, that I cannot forbeare to treſpaſſe ſo farre upon the Readers patience, as to exhibit ſomewhat more to the ſame purpoſe. Having repreſented to his honour two other domeſtique calamities peculiar to that Houſe, they deſcende to a third, of which they ſay,* Diu nos preſſit, in miram anguſtiam compegit, & in extremam conditionem non nos ſolùm ſed reliquos omnes ſtudioſos detruſit. Quæ illa eſt? Duriſſima caritas omnium rerum vendibilium. Augetur pretium omnium, pecunia noſtra non augetur. Quomodo olim duodecim denarijs, nunc non licet vivere viginti. Qui authores ſunt tantæ miſeriæ? Dicemus, & domino monente ac demonſtrante dicemus. Sunt illi qui domum ad domum conjungunt, qui rapinas pauperum congerunt, qui fructum eorum rariſſimè comedunt. Hæc dicit Dominus per Eſaiam Prophetam, nos apertiùs loquemur. Sunt illi, qui hodie paſſim in Anglia prædia Monaſteriorum graviſſimis annuis reditibus auxerunt. Hinc omnium rerum exauctum pretium: hi homines expilant totam Rempublicam. Villici & coloni univerſi laborant, parcunt, corradunt, ut iſtis ſatisfaciant: hinc ſinguli cogũtur, ſingulis imponere, & univerſa Reſpub. graviſſimè premitur. Hinc tot Familiæ diſſipatæ, tot Domus collapſæ, tot communes menſæ aut jam nullæ aut in angulos & latebras concluſæ. Hinc (quod omnium miſerrimum eſt) nobile illud decus & robur Angliæ, nomen inquam Yomannorum Anglorum fractum & colliſum eſt. Et hæc etiam miſeria maximè redundat in authores ejuſdem. Quotuſquiſq; enim eſt Mercatorum Londinenſium, (hi homines hanc miſeriam mirificè concitârunt) qui non anguſtiùs, tenuiùs, & preſſiùs his temporibus vivit, quàm cùm paſſi ſunt alios homines vivere? In nullam partem Reipub: majori impetu invaſit hoc malum quàm in rem literariam: reliqui homines ita liberi ſunt ut poſſint quærere ſibi vitam; ſtudioſi non quærunt, ſed quæſitam recipiunt: quæ ſi augetur, hoc fit

non operâ illorum, ſed bonitate aliorum. Poſtremò, debet pecunia noſtra, aut major eſſe, quòd cupimus; aut caritas rerũ minor eſſe, quod per Te fore ſperamus; aut fructus ſtudiorum minimus erit, quod maximè omnium metuimus. Hæc tanta caritas rerum & hæc nulla Charitas hominum intra hos paucos annos expulit ex hoc uno Collegio plura optima ingenia, quàm nunc ſunt perfectè docti viri in tota Academia: nec ſolùm expellit præſentes, ſed aufert unà etiam univerſam abſentium ſpem, *Thũ & much more to thũ purpoſe, from that learned Colledge. And the whole Vniverſity in their many publique letters to moſt of the Nobilsty then in Parliament doe runne much upon this ſtraine. I ſhall give a taſt of one or two. Firſt to the Lord Marqueſſe of* Northampton, *whom they deſire to be a means that learning may be reſtored to her ancient honour, and good wits allured to it by ſome new hopes. And proceed thus,* In hoc Parliamẽto (niſi valde fallimur) veram Religionem reſtituetis. Divinum profectò conſilium, & nos unà Deum rogamus omnes, ut ne veſtigium quidem Papiſticæ fæcis in ulla parte Religionis, quæcunque illa fuerit, ampliùs reſideat. Sed ignorantia quid? tolletur ex omni populo. Quorum induſtriâ? doctorum. At ubi ſunt? in Academiis. At quot requiruntur ad ignorantiam ex Anglia relegandam polliceri quidem nos non audemus. At plures quotidiè illuc confluent. Quâ ſpe? honore artium? nullus fere eſt. Expectatione præmiorum? ſed illa & rara ſunt & exigua ſunt. Nomine & honeſtate literarum? Quo loco nunc jacent literæ vel ignari omnium literarum facilè animadvertunt. Et qui poſthac docti erunt? pauperes? At hîc non diù manent propter inopiam. Sed divitum filij? at hi minùs, vel propter alterius vitæ expectationem, vel literarum his temporibus obſcuram conditionem. Sed parentes ut filij ſui inſtituantur literis ſemper curabunt. Aſt hi ſpe lucri magis, quæ jam ſublata eſt, quàm doctrinæ cupiditate, quæ in illis nulla eſt, hoc fecerant. Aſt boni viri inopiam ſtudioſorũ levabunt. Hoc olim factum eſt. Sed nunc prioris ſeculi felicitatem potiùs admirari, quàm hac ſpe ſtudioſorum vitam alere

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& ſuſtentare poſſumus. Quorſum tot Scholæ in Anglia, ſtad Academias pauci ſefe conferunt? Imò aut paucæ ſunt, aut relictæ & contemptæ ſunt: & parentes hodiè cujus rei potiùs quàm literis liberos ſuos addicunt. Sed Reſpub: huic rei remedium adferet. Digna certè res in qua totum occupetur Parliamentum: niſi enim hæc ſemina doctrinæ teneris animis tempeſtivè ſparſa fuerint, quænam in Repub: vel exoriatur ſpes, vel adoleſcat virtus, vel efflorescat pura Religio & vera felicitas, prudentia Tua intelligit. Multa ad hunc modum veriſſimè dici poſſint de labenti jam & admodum proclivi ad occaſum literarum dignitate (Nobiliſſ. Marchio:) quæ res quantum in ſe veri habet tantum adjumẽti à Te requirit ad maturum illi adferendum remedium. Hoc dabis Religioni & Reipublicæ: hoc dabis multorum parentum ſollicitæ ſpei, multorum ingeniorum præclaræ indoli: dabis hoc etiam ſaluti poſterorum temporum, in quibus nullus doctrinæ fructus exoriri poteſt, cujus ſementis ſuperioribus temporibus facta non fuerit. Dabis his omnibus quantum vis, vis certè tantum quantum literis, hoc eſt, ſummis & veræ Religionis præſidiis, & florentis Reipublicæ ornamentis dari debere prudentia Tua judicabit. *In another of their letters to Sr* Anthony Denny, *one of the privy Councell, where they plead the ſame cauſe with as much eloquence as earneſtneſſe, they deſire him to conſider that it is not their own particular, but the common cauſe of all poſterity, & the whole State; and that he and all others in authoritie, would be carefull to diſtinguiſh betwixt ſome obnoxious perſons, & the whole Commonwealth of learning*, ne ea ratio quæ ignorantiam malorum Sacerdotum juſtiſſimè puniat, optimorum etiam ingeniorum ſpem à ſtudiis literarum unà auferat. Hoc remedium non malos ad ſanitatem adduceret, ſed bonos ad deſperationem adigeret. *Thus much for the miſeries or feares of the Vniverſitie of* Cambridge *in thoſe times. Nor was that of* Oxford *in any better condition. I finde an ample commiſſion granted to the Earle of* Warwick, *and eight more*, any ſeven, ſix, five, foure, three, two, or one of them, *to viſit in* capite & membris *the whole Dioceſe, but eſpecially the Univerſity*

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*of* Oxford. *What other effects that Visitation had, does not well appeare, but (tis said)* Richard Coxe, *who was one of them, did so clearely purge the Vniversitie-Librarie of all Monuments of superstition, that he left not one booke in it of all those goodly Manuscripts, of which by the munificence of severall Benefactors, that place was very amply furnished: Especially by* Richard Aungervyle *Bishop of* Durham, Thomas Cobham *Bishop of* Worcester, Humphrey *the good Duke of* Gloucester, Iohn Whethamsted *Abbot of S.* Albans, Iohn Tipetoft *Earle of* Worcester, *and divers others. Such errours or rather impieties were committed by some in this kinde, that* Iohn Bale, *a man sufficiently averse from the least shadow of Popery, and one that hated all Monkery with a perfect hatred, yet could not but complaine to King* EDWARD *the sixt, &* dolorously lament so great an oversight in the most lawfull overthrow of Abbies and Frieries. Covetousnesse was at that time so busie about private commodity that publique wealth in that most necessary and godly respect was not any where regarded. A great number of them which purchased those superstitious mansions, reserved of those Library books, some to serve their jakes, some to scoure their Candlesticks, and some to rub their Boots, some they sold to the Grociers and Sope-sellers: and some they sent over Sea to the Book-binders, not in small number, but at times whole Ships full. Yea the Vniversities of this Realme are not all cleare in this detestable fact. But curled is that belly which seeketh to be fed with such ungodly gaines, and so deeply shameth his naturall countrey. I know a merchant man (which shall at this time be nameless) that bought the Contents of two noble Libraries for forty shillings price, a shame it is to be spoken. This stuffe hath he occupied in steed of gray paper by the space of more then these ten yeares: and yet he hath store enough for as many yeares to come. A prodigious example is this, and to be abhorred of all men which love their nation as they should doe. Yea, what may bring our Realme to more shame & rebuke, then

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to have it noyſed abroad that we are deſpiſers of Learning? I judge this to be true, and utter it with heavineſſe, that neither the *Brittaines* under the *Romans* & *Saxons*, nor yet the *Engliſh* people under the *Danes* and *Normans* had ever ſuch damage of their learned Monuments as we have ſeene in our time. Our poſterity may wele curſe this wicked fact of our age, this unreaſonable ſpoile of *Englands* moſt noble antiquities. The *Anabaptiſts* in our time, an unquietous kind of men, arrogant without meaſure, captious and unlearned, doe leave none old workes unbrent, that they may eaſily come by; as appeared by the Libraries at *Munſter* in the land of *Weſtphalia*, whom they moſt furiouſly deſtroyed. An able witneſſe of this their wicked cuſtome, is *Petrus Plateanus*, among many others, in his Treatiſe againſt their dogged doings. *Libros omnes exurunt (inquit) indignantes ſe ab alio quàm ab ipſo ſuo ſpiritu doctos videri. Miſerum eſt cernere Bibliothecas non ignobiles ab execranda Secta hoc modo aboleri.* They think ſcorne of any other Spirit to ſeem learned, then of their own fanaticall braines. *Antonius Corvinus* ſaith alſo in his book againſt them, *Anabaptiſtarum furor optimos quoſq; authores, ac vetuſtiſſima venerandæ antiquitatis exemplaria abſumpſerunt in Bibliotheca Oſnaburgenſi.* I could bring out a great number of like teſtimonies from *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, *Bullinger*, *Calvin*, and *Philip Melanchthon*, with other of the moſt notable writers of our age, concerning this ungracious violence of theſe chimney Preachers, and bench-Bablers: but let theſe two rehearſed at this time ſuffice. *Thus far* Iohn Bale (*in his declarations upon* Lelands *iournall*) *to King* EDWARD *the* VI. 1549.

*But to returne. I conceive the very ſight of theſe barbarous inſolencies committed upon thoſe Treaſuries of good Letters, Books and Libraries, could not but impreſſe in ſerious apprehenſions a deep contemplation of the approaching funeralls of moſt kindes of Learning, & make them take their long leaves of the Univerſitie. And ſo they did: inſomuch that at* Oxford *their publique Schooles were converted into a private garden-*

*plot; their publique Treasurie robbed; their monies and muniments embesel'd & wasted, as does more largely appeare by the preface to a royall Grant of Q.* MARIES *to that Vniversity in the first of her Raigne.* Regina omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint salutem. Gravissimorum hominum testimoniis ad aures nostras perlatum est, ac certissimis quibusdam rationibus nobis quasi ob oculos positum, nostram illam Academiam quæ Oxonii sita est, alterum totius regni lumen, olim bonarum literarum omnium celeberrimum emporium, sic & temporum injuriâ afflictam esse, ut penè inculta jaceat, & inopiâ harum rerum quibus dignitas omnis sustinetur adeo oppressam esse, ut extincta jam penè & quodam quasi squallore contabuisse videatur. Publicas enim illius Scholas, in quibus olim fiebat statis quibusdam & solennibus diebus frequens discentium concursio, vastatas & in privatos hortos conversas: Publicum thesaurum direptum: ornamenta publica ablata, & publica vectigalia ita tenuia, imò ita ferè nulla esse accepimus, ut neq; publicis usibus aliquâ ex parte sufficiant, neq; publicarum causarum defensioni & injuriis propulsandis respondeant. Nos igitur Academiam illam, quâ contemptâ & desertâ nec orthodoxa fides defendi, nec in rebus controversis veritas erui, nec certè in Repub: justitia administrari potest, penè oppressam & jacentem erigere atque excitare, illiusq; squallorem depellere, &, inopiam nostrâ munificentiâ sublevare ad regium munus nostrum pertinere existimantes, ut posthac habeat quo & suas Scholas erigat, erectas teneat perpetuis ut speramus futuris temporibus, & se suaq; privilegia adversus quarumcunq; injuriarum procellas defendat, &c. *And though this might perswade with some that to be a Schollar was none of the greatest curses; yet I doe not see that the people were hearty friends with learning all Q.* MARIES *daies, nor in the beginning of Queene* ELIZABETH. *What a learned ministery shall we thinke they had under Queen* MARY, *when* many were made Priests being children, and otherwise utterly unlearned, so they could read to say Mattens and Masse? *And how can wee*

Q. Eliz. Injunction 43.

*expect*

*expect it should be much better in the first of* Q. ELIZABETH, *when some Ministers (because they were but meane Readers)* are injoyned to peruse over before once or twice the Chapters and Homilies, to the intent they might read to the better understanding of the people? *And what estimate shall we make of their discretion, when it was* thought very necessary that no Priest or Deacon should take to his wife any manner of woman without the advice and allowance first had, upon good examination, by the Bishop of the Dioceſſe, & two Iustices of the Peace? *What rare Preachers shall we imagine they had in the Vniversitie at that time, when* M. Tavernour *of* Water-Eaton *high Sheriffe of* Oxfordshiere, *came in pure charitie, not ostentation, and gave the Schollars a Sermon in* S^t *Maryes, with his gold chaine about his neck, and his sword by his side; beginning with these words,* Arriving at the Mount of Saint Maries, in the stony Stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine Biskets, baked in the oven of Charitie, and carefully conserved for the Chickens of the Church, the Sparrowes of the Spirit, & the sweet Swallowes of Salvation. *By this we may guesse what a dearth of learning there was till it pleased God & good Queen* ELIZABETH *to redeeme it from poverty & contempt by granting new and ample Charters to the Vniversity of* Cambridge, *and passing severall Statutes in Parliament, That of Provision and others, very beneficiall for the maintenance of Schollars, and reducing the Clergy of this Kingdome to that lustre which they had in the daies of her royall Father, when that high and Honourable Court of Parliament gave them this testimony, that* the body Spirituall, now being usually called the English Church, alwaies hath been reputed and also found of that sort, that both for knowledge, integritie and sufficiencie of number, it hath been alwaies thought, and is also at this houre, sufficient and meet of it selfe, without the intermedling of any exteriour person or persons, to declare and determine all causes of the Law Divine, or of spirituall learning; and to administer all such offices and du-

Ibid. Iniunction 3.

Ibid. Iniunction 29.

24. Hen. 8. cap. 12.

ties as to their roomes Spirituall doth appertaine. For the due administration whereof, and to keep them from corruption, and sinister affection, the Kings most noble Progenitors, and the Ancestors of the Nobles of this Realme, have sufficiently endowed the said Church both with Honour and Possessions. *Indeed nothing more certaine, then that this one Kingdome of* England *has in all ages produced as many, nay more learned men in all Professions, then any other Nation in the world besides: witnesse the severall Catalogues of our ancient Authors, & their works. No better reason for it then the liberall maintenance of Schollars in the Universities, and the faire preferments in the Church. Take away these, and what can be expected but the whole Nation will be quickly over-run with beggery and barbarisme? Then, that definition of a Schollar will prove too Catholique*, a silly fellow in black. *So true has that of the Historian ever been*, nihil à quoquam expeti nisi cujus fructus antè providerit. *And* sublatis studiorum pretiis etiam studia peritura ut minùs decora. *By all the Lawes of God may not a man as freely dispose of his estate to the endowment of a Church or Colledge, as to any lay person or Corporation? The donations of Kings and other pious Founders and Benefactors made to them, are they not as good and strong by the Lawes of this Land as any other private conveyance? Have not the Clergy as true a propriety in their freeholds as the rest of his Majesties Subjects? Are they not the first words of those fundamentall Lawes of* England *comprised in the* Great Charter; We have granted to God, and by this our present Charter have confirmed for us and our heires for evermore, that the Church of England shall be free, & shall have all her whole rights and liberties inviolable? *Does not every King at his Coronation take a solemne Oath for the preservation of them? Are there not many hideous and direfull imprecations of their Founders laid upon all such as dare to violate their intentions? And has not common experience taught us that Church-chapmen, though they had the cheapest penyworths, had not ever the best bargaines? Not but that the*

apud Boston: Burienſem. Lelandum. Bileum. Pitſeum. Voſſium. &c.

*Meanes*

*Meanes as well as the Ministers of the Church, as they are lyable to abuses, so must they submit to a Reformation. And the Government it selfe so farre as it shall appeare to the wisdome of the* State *to be notoriously inconvenient, no good man but will desire to see it altered. But for those which knowe least, to take upon them most; not only to instruct and direct the Lawgivers, but even to iudge and condemne the Lawes themselues; to cry out against them as tyrannicall, and made in times of Popery; to reiect the Common-prayer-book as a piece of Idolatry, and brand that for superstition which is yet legall conformity, to call the very Office of Episcopacy* Antichristian *&* Diabolicall, *which all Antiquity counted sacred, & our publique Acts of Parliament acknowledge to be* one of the greatest States of this Realme; *to give out that if all arguments fayle, they will dispute it with the sword, what are these but rudiments of Sedition scattered among the common people too much distempered with those two vulgar diseases, Ignorance, and desire of Innovation? whence it is, they can only say they would not have this Government, but cannot say what they would have. Yea may it not be feared that an Anabaptisticall parity as well in* State *as* Church *sounds too plausibly in the eares of the multitude? Consult our Chronicles, see what were the aymes and ends of those rude companies under* Iack Straw *and* Wat Tyler *in* RICHARD *the seconds daies. Look upon* Kets *demands, and* Ombles *Prophecy under* EDWARD VI. *Doe not they all amount to this Summe, they would have* no Noble men, no Gentlemen, no Lawyers, no Iustices, *as well as* no Bishops? *This you will finde to be the occasion why this worthy Author* Sr Iohn Cheeke *first writ this Discourse. Which indeed was printed againe by order of Queen* ELIZABETH 1569. *and then too not without cause, for there was at that time a Rebellion in the North, & those that were parties to it, pretending a restauration of Religion, tore and trampled under foot the* Common-prayer-Bookes *which they found in the Churches of* Durham. *To prevent all such disorders in the giddie multitude of these succeeding times,* in quibus magis alii homines

8 Eliz c. 1.

homines quàm alii mores, *I have thought it might in part conduce to the publike peace & good of this Kingdome, if they were once more presented with this short, but considerable Tract,* Of the Hurt of Sedition, *which may with more ease be kept out of a Commonwealth then expelled: sooner suppressed then moderated. The Author himselfe lived as peaceably as he writes: whiles he was in his Colledge he was a president of love and amity: and after his departure an earnest mediator to compose the Societie a litle distracted by domestique factions. He that desires to knowe more of him, let him peruse the succeeding imperfect story of his life, collected for the most part out of such as were contemporary with him, and somewheres spelled and put together out of the severall letters of himselfe and others.*

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# THE LIFE OF Sr IOHN CHEEKE.

THIS learned and worthy man fell immediatly from the wombe of his mother into the lappe of the Muſes; being both borne and bred within the liberties of that famous nurſery of good letters, *Cambridge*. Where I quickly find him at a full height, but cannot tell you how low he took his riſe: the diverſity of expreſſion in ſeverall Authors, cannot but in this point diſtract the Reader; ſome making him of a *noble*, ſome of a *baſe* extraction. We may imagine the meane to be of a nearer alliance to truth then either extreme. I have read his Mother ſiluted by the name of Mrs *Cheeke*, and two of his Siſters fairely matched, one to Doctor *Blith*, the Kings profeſſour of Phyſick; and *Mary*, another of them, to *William Cecill*, afterwards Lord *Burghley*, a moſt able miniſter of State in thoſe dayes, & the Father of divers noble Families in theſe. Vpon which probabilities I would conclude Mr *Cheeke* for his

his parentage to be somewhat more then the sonne of his owne deserts. And yet these were so farre above vulgar and ordinary, that they quickly purchased him a Fellowship in S^t *Iohns* Colledge; and it may be disputable whether in point of learning he ought more to the place, or the place to him. His eminency was so generally taken notice of by the whole Vniversity, that they pitched upon him for the sole manage of two weighty, but honorary employments, of their publique Oratour and Greek Reader. In the discharge of this latter he went over *Sophocles* twice, all *Homer*, all *Euripides*, and part of *Herodotus*, to his Auditors benefit, and his owne credit, which was all the Salary he then had. Till King HENRY the VIII of his Royall bounty, endowed that and the other Chaires with the liberall allowance of forty pounds *per annum*. Then the place was thought worthy the seeking for, and I find three powerfull competitors all suiting for it in M^r *Cheekes* absence: yet it seemes the prudent King upon the sole commendatories of his former deservings reserved that honour for him, to be *the first Regius Professor of the Greek tongue in Cambridge*. as S^r *Thomas Smith* was of Law. Whom I mention for that great intimacy which he had with our Author. They were both Fellowes of the same Colledge, both Professors in the same Vniversity, both Officers of State in the same Court: they two especially by their advice and example brought the Study of Tongues & other politer learning first into request in that Vniversity. But while they were in their full cariere they had the hap to meet with some rubbs. Vpon hopes of facilitating the understanding of the Greek tongue they attempted to reduce it to the ancient, but obsolete māner of pronunciation; a thing very repugnant to the *genius* of those times and other places. This innovation was quickly observed by *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Wincheſter* then Chancellour of that Vniversity, who took a course to represse it by a strict injunction sent to be published there *Maij* XXI 1542. Yet so as he was content upon equall

termes

termes to reaſon the matter with Mr *Cheeke*, and ſo he did fairely and friendly in his firſt letters: The Profeſſor was not willing to deſert the cauſe and quitt the feild having ſo Honorable an adverſary: hee anſwers the Chancellour once and againe, freely (I confeſſe) and (as the Bp thought) boldly. Long was the cauſe bandyed betwixt them, the one pleading ancient right, the other preſent poſſeſſion. But at laſt Mr *Cheeke* was content to ſubmit to that one unanſwerable argument of the Chancellours, *Authority*. Yet his rules and practiſe had taken ſuch deep root in his Auditours that by them it was propagated through this whole Kingdome: and that we *Engliſh*-men now ſpeak Greek and are able to underſtand one another when no body elſe can, this we muſt acknowledge to be a ſpeciall effect of Mr *Cheekes* rare ingeny. Which could not long be contained within the narrow precincts of the Vniverſity; that famous King, HENRY the VIII, thought it fit to call this great light of learning out of the ſhadow, and ſo he did *Iulij* X. 1544. and to his cuſtodie he then committed the moſt precious jewell of the Kingdome, the yong Prince EDWARD, being at that time not full ſeven yeares of age. Here was ſuch a happy concurrence of ſweetneſſe and ingenuity that it was no very hard matter for the Maſter to imbue the tender yeares of his Scholar with ſo deep a tincture of Piety, and good letters as render'd him the glory of his owne times, and the miracle of ours. What unſpeakable progreſſe he made under this Directour of his Studies, he that makes a doubt of *Cardans* teſtimony may be confirmed from thoſe many noble reliques of his induſtry and ſufficiency, both in *Greek* and *Latine*, written with his owne hand, which are ſtill preſerved in his Majeſties Library at S. *Iames*. And what a fit and happy choyce the King made in ſuch a Tutor, for ſuch a Schollar I cannot better expreſſe then in the words of that learned Antiquary *Iohn Leland*, who dedicated one of his books to Mr *Cheeke* with this *L'envoy*.

*Ad*

Ad libellum, ut *Ioanni Checo* Grantano placere ſtudeat

*Si vis* Theſpiadum *Choro probari*
*Fac ut conſilio, libelle, noſtro*
*Facundo ſtudeas placere* Checo:
*Quem* Pandioniæ *coluunt* Athenæ.
*Et quem* Roma *colit diſerta multùm*
*Quem Rex Maximus, omnium ſupremúſq;*
HENRICVS *reputans virum probatum*
*Spectatúmq; ſatis, reconditaq;*
*Cenſorem ſolidum eruditionis,*
EDVARDVM *bene filium, ſuúmq;*
*Heredem, puerum, illi, ad alta natum,*
*Sic concredidit utriuſq; linguæ*
*Flores ut legeret venuſtiores;*
*Exercens facili manum labore,*
*Vt* CHRISTI *imbiberet ſuáve nectar.*
*Felicem arbitror hunc diem fuiſſe*
*Tanto Diſcipulo dedit Magiſtrum*
*Qui talem* &c.

I ſuppoſe it may be truely ſaid that under God M. *Cheek* was a ſpeciall inſtrument of the propagation of the Goſpell, & that Religion which we now profeſſe in this Kingdome. For he not only ſowed the ſeeds of that Doctrine in the heart of Prince EDWARD, which afterwards grew up into a generall Reformation when he came to be King, but by his meanes the ſame ſaveing truth was gently inſtilled into the Lady ELIZABETH, by thoſe who by his procurement were admitted to be the Guides of her younger Studies: Such were firſt *William Grindall*, a hopefull young Scholar of S. *Johns* in *Cambridge*, whom being deſtitute of other meanes of ſubſiſtance, M. *Cheek* took into his ſervice *Anno* 1544. and ſoone after preferr'd him to the Lady ELIZABETH: with whom he continued as long as he lived in good favour and likeing: and the loſſe of him was, by M^r *Cheekes* meanes, preſently ſupplyed in *Roger Aſcham*, who had formerly been his Scholar in the Colledge, and Succeſ-

ſour

ſour in the Orators place in the Vniverſity: A man deare unto him for ſimilitude of ſtudies, but more for his zeale to the true Religion. Which was ſo precious with our Author, that no man was great in his books, but ſuch as were well affected to Gods. Even in HENRY the VIII time his friends and familiars were moſt of thoſe worthy men which proved Reformers in King EDWARDS dayes, and either Martyrs or Exiles in Queene MARIES. His forreigne acquaintance were *Sleidan, Melanchthon, Sturmius, Bucer, Camerarius, Cœlius, Peter Martyr* and others, great Scholars and good Proteſtants. And the Crowne was no ſooner on King EDWARDS head, *Ianuary* XXVIII. 1547. and the Goſpell ſet at liberty, but many of theſe men came, and others were ſent for to help forwards that great worke of the Reformation in *England.* when the young King was well ſetled in his Throne, and began to be skilled in the art of reigning, he thought fit to make choyce of ſuch men for the neareſt attendance upon his perſon, as he knew to be beſt affected to it; & therefore amongſt others admitted M. *Cheek* to be one of his Privy Chamber. This accrue of honour to her ſonne made his learned mother the Vniverſity a ſuiter to him for protection in thoſe ſtormy times: who in her letters to him gives him ſuch an elogie, as I cannot omitt without guilt of concealment. This it is, *Ex univerſo illo numero Clariſſimorum virorum (Clariſſime* Chece) *qui ex hac Academia in Rempublicam unquam prodierunt, Tu unus es quem ſemper Academia præ univerſis alijs & præſentem complexa eſt, & abſentem admirata eſt: quam Tu viciſſim pluſquam Univerſi alij & præſens ornaveras, & abſens juvas.* About this time he took ſo much leaſure as either to pen or publiſh ſeverall learned, and uſefull Tracts both for Church and State. And as his merits, ſo his Princes favour were ever in progreſſion. In the yeare 1551, after the treaty about the Match with *France,* when his Majeſty was pleaſed to make a doale of honours amongſt his deſerving Subjects, M. *Cheek* was not forgot-

ten; he with his Brother in Law Secretary *Cecill*, and others were then Knighted. This was but a foundation upon which the gratefull Prince had a purpose to erect higher preferments had not the hand of Providence so soone snatch'd him away into another Kingdome, to invest his temples with a more glorious Crowne. This was done *July* VI. 1553. Not long after he had called Sr *Iohn Cheeke* to sit at the helme of State, the Councell Boord. In this common losse of so good a King He, good man, had more then a common share. The tide of the times must now turne, and he must either row with it', or be in danger to perish in it. And so he was; for his zeale to Religion transporting him a litle beyond his loyaltie to his lawfull Soveraigne, he was one of those among the Councell who could have been content the Lady IANE's title to the Crowne should have been thought better then the Lady MARIE's. And for this He amongst others was clapt up in Prison *July* XXVII. Here he was stripp'd of the greatest part of his honours, and all his fortunes: but his person was set at liberty *September* III. And not long after I meet with him in *Germany*, either a forced or a voluntary Exile. From thence he passed into *Italy*, and by the way left those adversary Epistles of *Winchester* and himselfe with his friend *Cœlius*, who put them in Print without the Authors privity. At his returne to *Germany* he was kindly entertained at *Strasbourg*; where he took up his old trade; and set up shop againe, being chosen publique Professor of the *Greek* tongue in that place. This was a treasure which maintained him in his exile: this he had not confiscate to the Queene: this escaped the diligence of all the Searchers when he conveyed it out of the Kingdome. Here he lived about two yeares in good repute, till I know not what unluckie starres put him upon a journey into the Low Countries. Nor is it well agreed what his businesse was there. Some have said it was to marry a wife: but what need of that, when he was already matched to a young Lady, who lived to see many happyer daies

daies after his deceaſe, and dyed well nigh threeſcore yeares after him, *Anno* 1616? Others report the occaſion of this his voyage to be no more but a friendly interview, and viſit of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors then at *Bruxelles*, and among them his ancient friend the Lord *Pagett*, who engaged the faith of King PHILIP for his ſafe conduct. But for the maine motive of this his voyage, I ſubſcribe to the relation of *Sleidan*, as moſt ancient & likely to be moſt true. He tels us how S^r *Iohn Cheeke* went into Low *Germany ut vxorem educeret*, to fetch his wife from thence, who belike was lately come over out of *England*, and meant to ſettle with him at *Straſbourg*. Thoſe words of *Sleidan* were (as I conceive) by an eaſie miſtake corrupted into *vxorem duceret*; and this was the firſt plantation of that opinion touching his marriage, which ſprung up afterwards into a popular errour. But whatever was the occaſion, the event of that journey did not correſpond to the undertakers hopes. For in his returne from *Bruxelles* to *Antwerp*, *May* XV. 1556, both S^r *Iohn Cheeke* and S^r *Peter Carew* were waylay'd by the Provoſt Marſhall for King PHILIP, beaten from their horſes, tyed hand and foot to the bottome of a Cart, and ſo conveyed hoodwinckt to the next Haven, where they were Shipt under hatches, and their firſt landing place was the Tower of *London*, where they were committed to cloſe Priſon. It is ſaid there be ſome Writers that have made both theſe men Martyrs two yeares before; and aſſigned them a place in the Calendar *Iune* XIII. 1554, the day upon which they were ſuppoſed to be burned both at the ſame Stake, and for the ſame Cauſe. But the truth is otherwiſe: S^r *Peter Carew* outlived all his troubles, and underwent many honorable ſervices under Queene ELIZABETH, and dyed in *Ireland* above twenty yeares after this ſuppoſed Martyrdome, *Anno* 1575. S^r *Iohn Cheek's* lott was ſomewhat harder: he was put to this miſerable choyce, either to forgoe his life, or what is farre more precious his liberty of conſcience. No meane; neither his great

learning, his knowne integrity, the interceſſion of his friends, and among them *Abbot Fekenham*, (a man which could doe ſomewhat with Queene MARY) could compound for his pardon at any lower rate then the recantati- of his Religion. This he was loath to accept till his hard uſage in priſon, joyned with threats of worſe upon his perſeverance, and faire promiſes to his ſubmiſſion, with what other inſinuating meanes humane pollicie could invent to work upon fleſh and blood, drew from his mouth an abrenuntiation of that truth which he had ſo long profeſſed, and ſtill believed. Vpon this he was ſoone reſtored to his libertie, but never to his content. The ſenſe and ſorrow for his fall in himſelfe, and the daily ſight of that cruell butchery which was exerciſed upon others for the conſtant profeſſion of the truth, made ſuch deep impreſſions in his broken ſoule, as brought him to a ſpeedy, but comfortable end of a miſerable life. He died at *London* in the houſe of *Peter Osberne* Eſquier, in *September* 1557. His body lies buried in *St Albans, Woodſtreet*: with this Epitaph upon his tombe.

*Doctrina* CHECUS *linguaq; utriuſq; Magiſter*
*Aurea naturæ fabrica morte jacet.*
*Non erat è multis unus, ſed præſtitit unus*
*Omnibus, & patriæ flos erat ille ſuæ.*
*Gemma Britanna fuit: tam magnum nulla tulerunt*
*Tempora theſaurum; tempora nulla ferent.*

I doe not finde any iſſue that he left of his body, ſave one ſonne which bare his own name, a comely young man and a ſtout; ſlaine in his Princes ſervice at the ſiege of *Fort del Or* in *Ireland* 1580. the onely man of ours that was loſt in that daies ſervice. But for the iſſue of his braine, that's more numerous; and for their ſakes which are delighted in ſuch pedigrees, I have ſet downe this ſucceeding Catalogue of

Sr IOHN CHEEKES Works.

*Scripſit* { *L. V. Ioannes Checus*
*Introductionem Grammatices.* Lib. 1.
*De Ludimagiſtrorum officio,* Lib. 1.

*De*

*De pronunciatione linguæ* Græcæ.
*correctiones* Herodoti, Thycididis, Platonis, Demosthenis, & Xenophontis, *lib. plurimis.*
*Epitaphia.* Lib. 1.
*Panegyricum in nativitatem* EDVARDI *Principis.*
*Elegiam de ægrotatione & obitu* EDVARDI VI.
*In obitum* Antonii Dennei. Lib. 1.
*De obitu* Buceri.
*Commentarios in Psalmum* CXXXIX *& alios.*
*An liceat nubere post Divortium.* Lib. 1.
*De fide iustificante.* Lib. 1.
*De aqua lustrali, cineribus, & palmis, ad* Wintonienſem. L. 1
*De Eucharistiæ Sacramento.* Lib. 1.
*Collegit in Parliamento argumenta & rationes ex utraq; parte super negotio Eucharistiæ.*
*Edidit* ( quem hic recusum damus ) *de damno ex seditione Libellum.*

Transtulit
E Græco in Latinum.

Euripidis & Sophoclis *quædam ad literam.*
Aristotelem *de anima.*
Demosthenis Olynthiacas, Philippicas, *& contra* Leptinem.
Æschinis & Demosthenis *Orationes adversarias.*
Plutarchum *de superstitione.*
Leonem *Imperatorem De apparatu bellico.*
Iosephum *De antiquitatibus Iudaicis.*
Chrysostomi *Homilias quasdam.* viz *Contra Observatores Novilunii* 1. *De dormientibus in Christo.* 1. *De providentia Dei.* 3. *De fato.* 3.
Maximi *Monachi asceticum.*

*Ex* Anglico *in* Latinum.

Thomæ Cranmeri *librum de Sacramentis.*
*Officium de Communione.*

# THE TRVE SVBIECT TO THE REBELL.

AMONG ſo many and notable benefits, wherewith God hath alreadie liberally and Plentifully endued us, there is nothing more beneficiall, then that wee have by his grace kept us quiet from rebellion at this time. For we ſee ſuch miſeries hang over the whole ſtate of common wealth, through the great miſorder of your ſedition, that it maketh us much to rejoyce, that we have been neither partners of your doings, nor conſpirers of your counſells. For even as the *Lacedemonians*

for the avoiding of Drunkennesse, did cause their sonnes to behold their servants when they were drunk, that by beholding their beastlinesse, they might avoid the like vice: even so hath God like a mercifull father staid us from your wickednesse, that by beholding the filth of your fault, wee might justly for offence abhorre you like Rebels, whom else by nature we love like Englishmen. And so for our selues wee have great cause to thank God, by whose religion and holy word daily taught us, we learne not only to feare him truly, but also to obey our King faithfully, and to serve in our own vocation like subjects honestly. And as for you, we have surely just cause to lament you as brethren, and yet juster cause to rise against you as enimies, & most just cause to overthrowe you as Rebels. For what hurt could bee done either to us privatly, or to the whole commonwealth generally, that is now with mischiefe so brought in by you, that even as we see now the flame of your rage, so shall we necessarily be consumed hereafter with the misery of the same. Wherefore consider your selves with some light of understanding, and marke this grievous & horrible fault, which yee have thus vildly committed, how haynous it must needs appeare to you, if yee will reasonably consider that, which for my duties sake, and my whole Countries cause, I will at this present declare unto you.

Yee which be bound by Gods word not to obey for feare, like men pleasers, but for conscience

sake

ſake, like Chriſtians, have contrary to Gods holy will, whoſe offence is everlaſting death; and contrary to the godly order of quietneſſe, ſet out to us in the Kings Majeſties laws, the breach whereof is not unknown to you, taken in hand uncalled of God, unſent by men, unfit by reaſon, to caſt away your bounden duties of obedience, and to put on you againſt the Magiſtrates, Gods office committed to the Magiſtrates, for the reformation of your pretenſed injuries.

In the which doing, yee have firſt faulted grievouſly againſt God, next offended unnaturally our Soveraigne Lord, thirdly troubled miſerably the whole common-wealth, undone cruelly many an honeſt man, and brought in an utter miſery both to us the Kings ſubjects, and to your ſelves being falſe Rebells: and yet yee pretend that partly for Gods cauſe, and partly for the commonwealths ſake, yee doe riſe, when as your ſelves cannot denie, but yee that ſeeke in word Gods cauſe, doe break indeed Gods commandement; and yee that ſeek the commonwealth, have deſtroyed the commonwealth: and ſo yee marre that yee would make, and break that yee would amend, becauſe yee nether ſeek any thing rightly, nor would amend any thing orderly.

He that faulteth, faulteth againſt Gods ordinance, who hath forbidden all faults, and therefore ought againe to be puniſhed by Gods ordinance, who is the reformer of faults. For he ſaith, leave the puniſhment to me, and I will revenge

them. But the Magiſtrate is the ordinance of God, appointed by him with the ſword of puniſhment, to looke ſtraitly to all evill doers. And therefore that that is done by the Magiſtrate, is done by the ordinance of God, whō the Scripture oftentimes doth call God, becauſe he hath the execution of Gods office. How then doe you take in hand to reforme? Be yee Kings? By what authority? or by what ſucceſſion? Be yee the Kings officers? By what commiſſion? Be yee called of God? By what tokens declare yee that? Gods word teacheth us, that no man ſhould take in hand any office, but he that is called of God like *Aaron*. What *Moſes* I pray you called you? What Gods miniſter bade you riſe?

Yee riſe for religion. What religion taught you that? If yee were offered perſecution for religion, yee ought to flie: ſo Chriſt teacheth you, and yet you intend to fight. If yee would ſtand in the truth, yee ought to ſuffer like Martyrs: & you would ſlay like Tyrants. Thus for religion yee keep no religion, and neither will follow the counſell of Chriſt, nor the conſtancy of Martyrs. Why riſe yee for religion? Have yee any thing contrary to Gods book? Yea, have yee not all things agreeable to Gods word? But the new is different from the old, and therefore yee will have the old. If yee meaſure the old by truth, yee have the oldeſt: if yee meaſure the old by fancie, then it is hard, becauſe mens fancies change, to give that is old. Yee will have the old ſtill: Will yee

have

have any older then that wch Christ left, & his Apostles taught, and the first Church after Christ did use? Yee will have that the Canons doe establish. Why, that is a great deale younger then that yee have of later time, and newlier invented. Yet that is it that yee desire. Why, then yee desire not the oldest. And doe you preferre the Bishops of Rome afore Christ? mens inventiō afore Gods law? the newer sort of worship before the older? Yee seek no religion, yee be deceived, yee seeke traditions. They that teach you, blinde you; that so instruct you, deceiue you. If yee seek what the old Doctors say, yet look what Christ the oldest of all saith. For he saith, before *Abraham* was made, I am. If yee seek the truest way, he is the very truth: if yee seek the readiest way, hee is the very way: if yee seek everlasting life, he is the very life. What religion would you have other now, then his religion?

You would have the Bibles in againe. It is no marvell, your blind guides would lead you blinde still. Why, be yee Howlets and Bats, that yee cannot look on the light? Christ saith to every one, search yee the Scriptures, for they beare witnesse of Christ. You say, pull in the Scriptures, for we will haue no knowledge of Christ. The Apostles of Christ will us to be so ready, that we may be able to give every man an account of our faith. Yee will us not once to read the Scriptures, for feare of knowing of our faith. Saint *Paul* prayeth that every man may increase in knowledge, yee

deſire that our knowledge might decay againe A true religion yee ſeek belike, and worthy to be fought for. For without the ſword indeed, nothing can help it, neither Chriſt, nor truth, nor age can maintaine it. But why ſhould yee not like that which Gods word eſtabliſheth, the primitiue Church hath authoriſed, the greateſt learned men of this Realme haue drawne, the whole conſent of the Parliament hath confirmed, the Kings Majeſtie hath ſet forth? Is it not truly ſet out? Can yee deviſe any truer, then Chriſts Apoſtles uſed? Yee think it is not learnedly done. Dare yee Commons take upon you more learning, then the choſen Biſhops and Clearks of this Realme have? Think yee folly in it? Yee were wont to judge your Parliament wiſeſt, and now will yee ſuddainly excell them in wiſdome? Or can you think it lacketh authority, which the King, the Parliament, the learned, the wiſe, haue juſtly approved? Learne, learne, to know this one point of Religion, that God will be worſhipped as he hath preſcribed, and not as we have deviſed: and that his will is wholy in his Scriptures, which be full of Gods ſpirit, and profitable to teach the truth, to reproue lyes, to amend faults, to bring one up in righteouſneſſe, that he that is a Gods man may be perfect and ready to all good works. What can be more required to ſerve God withall? And thus much for religion-Rebels.

The other rabble of Norfolk Rebels, yee pretend a commonwealth. How amend yee it, by killing

killing of Gentlemen, by ſpoiling of Gentlemen, by impriſoning of Gentlemen? A marveilous tanned commonwealth. Why ſhould yee thus hate them? for their riches, or for their rule? Rule they never took ſo much in hand, as yee doe now. They never reſiſted the King, never withſtood his Councell; be faithfull at this day, when yee be faithleſſe, not only to the King, whoſe ſubjects yee be, but alſo to your Lords, whoſe tenants yee be. Is this your true duty, in ſome of homage, in moſt of fealtie, in all of allegeance, to leaue your duties, goe back from your promiſes, fall from your faith, & contrary to law and truth to make unlawfull aſſemblies, ungodly companies, wicked and deteſtable camps, to diſobey your betters, and to obey your Tanners, to change your obedience from a King to a *Ket*, to ſubmit your ſelves to Traytors, and break your faith to your true King and Lords? They rule but by law: if otherwiſe, the Law, the Councell, the King, taketh away their rule. Yee haue orderly fought no redreſſe, but yee have in time found it. In countries ſome muſt rule, ſome muſt obey, every man may not beare like ſtroke, for every man is not like wiſe. And they that have ſeene moſt, and be beſt able to beare it, and of juſt dealing beſide, be moſt fit to rule. It is another matter to underſtand a mans own griefe, and to knowe the commonwealths ſore: and therefore not they that knowe their own caſe, as every man doth, but they that underſtand the commonwealths ſtate, ought to

have in countries the preferment of ruling. If yee felt the paine that is joyned with governance, as yee see and like the honour, yee would not hurt others to rule them, but rather take great paine to be ruled of them. If yee had rule of the Kings Majestie committed unto you, it were well done yee had ruled the Gentlemen: but now yee have it not, & cannnot beare their rule, it is to think the kings Majestie foolish and unjust, that hath given certaine rule to them. And seeing by the Scripture, that yee ought not to speake evill of any Magistrate of the people, why doe yee not only speak evill of them, whom the Kings Majestie hath put in office, but also judge evill of the King himselfe, and thus seditiously in field stand with your swords drawne against him?

If riches offend you, because yee would have the like, then think that to be no commonwealth, but envie to the commonwealth. Envie it is to appaire another mans estate, without the amendment of your own. And to have no Gentlemen, because yee be none your selves, is to bring down an estate, and to mend none. Would yee have all alike rich? That is the overthrowe of labour, and utter decay of work in this Realme. For who wil labour more, if when he hath gotten more, the idle shall by lust without right, take what him lust from him, under pretence of equalitie with him. This is the bringing in of idlenesse, which destroyeth the commonwealth, & not the amendment of labour, that maintaineth the commonwealth

wealth. If there ſhould be ſuch equalitie, then yee take all hope away from yours, to come to any better eſtate than you now leaue them. And as many meane mens children come honeſtly up, and are great ſuccour to all their ſtock, ſo ſhould none bee hereafter holpen by you: but becauſe yee ſeek equalitie, whereby all cannot be rich, yee would that belike, whereby every man ſhould be poore. And think beſide that riches and inheritance be Gods providence, and given to whom of his wiſdome he thinketh good. To the honeſt for the increaſe of their godlineſſe, to the wicked for the heaping up of their damnation, to the ſimple for a recompence of other lacks, to the wiſe for the greater ſetting out of Gods goodneſſe. Why will your wiſdome now ſtop Gods wiſdome, and provide by your laws, that God ſhall not enrich them, whom he hath by providence appointed as him liketh? God hath made the poore, & hath made them to be poore, that he might ſhew his might, and ſet them aloft when he liſteth, for ſuch cauſe as to him ſeemeth; and pluck downe the rich to this ſtate of povertie, to ſhew his power, as he diſpoſeth to order them. Why doe not we thē being poore beare it wiſely, rather then by luſt ſeek riches unjuſtly; and ſhew our ſelues contented with Gods ordinance, which we muſt either willingly obey, and then we be wiſe; or elſe we muſt unprofitably ſtrive withall, and then we be mad. But what meane yee by this equality in the commonwealth? If one be wiſer then another, will yee baniſh him becauſe yee intend an equalitie of all things? If one be

ſtronger then another, will yee ſlay him becauſe yee ſeek an equalitie of all things? If one be well favourder then another, will yee puniſh him becauſe yee look for an equalitie of all things? If one have better utterance then another, will yee pull out his tongue to ſave your equalitie? And if one be richer then another, will yee ſpoile him to maintaine an equalitie? If one be elder then another, will yee kill him for his equalities ſake? How injurious are yee to God himſelfe, who intendeth to beſtow his gifts as he himſelfe liſteth, and yee ſeek by wicked inſurrections to make him give them commonly alike to all men, as your vaine fanſie liketh. Why would yee haue an equalitie in riches, & in other gifts of God there is no meane ſought? Either by ambition yee ſeek Lordlineſſe, much unfit for you; or by covetouſneſſe yee be unſatiable, a thing likely enough in you, or elſe by folly yee be not content with your eſtate, a fanſie to be plucked out of you. But and we being weary of poverty would ſeek to enrich our ſelves, we ſhould goe a farre other way to work then this, and ſo ſhould we rightly come to our deſire. Doth not Saint *Peter* teach us afore God a right way to honour, to riches, to all neceſſary and profitable things for us? He ſaith, humble your ſelves, that God might exalt you: and caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you. He teacheth the way to all good things at Gods hand, is to be humble, and you exalt your ſelves. Yee ſeek things after ſuch a ſort, as if the ſervant ſhould anger his maſter, when hee ſeeketh to have a good turne on him. Yee would have

have riches I think, at Gods hand who giveth all riches, and yet yee take the way cleane contrary to riches. Know yee not that he that exalteth himselfe, God will throwe him downe? How can yee get it then, by thus setting out your selves? Yee should submit you by humilitie one to another, and yee set up your selves by arrogancy above the Magistrates. See herein how much yee offend God. Remember yee not, that if yee come nigh to God, he will come nigh unto you? If then yee goe from God, hee will goe from you. Doth not the Psalme say, he is holy with the holy, and with the wicked man hee is froward? Even as hee is orderd of men, hee will order them againe. If yee would follow his will, and obey his commandements, yee should eat the fruits of the earth, saith the Prophet: if not, the sword shall devoure you. Yee might have eaten the fruits of this seasonable yeare, if yee had not by disobedience rebelled against God. Now not only yee cannot eate that which your selves did first sow by labour, and now destroy by sedition, but also if the Kings Majesties sword came not against you, as just policie requireth, yet the just vengeance of God would light among you, as his word promiseth, and your cruell wickednesse deserveth.

For whatsoever the causes be, that have moved your wild affections herein, as they be unjust causes, and increase your faults much, the thing it selfe, the rising I meane, must needs be wicked and horrible afore God, and the usurping of authoritie, & taking in hand of rule, which is the sitting in Gods seat of

iustice, and a proud clyming up into Gods high throne, must needs be not only cursed newly by him, but also hath been often punished afore of him. And that which is done to Gods officer, God accounteth it done to him. For they despise not the minister, as he saith himselfe, but they despise him: and that presumption of challenging Gods seat, doth shew you to have been *Lucifers*, and sheweth us that God will punish you like *Lucifers*. Wherefore rightly look, as yee duly have deserved, either for great vengeance for your abominable transgression, or else earnestly repent with unfained minds, your wicked doings: & either with example of death be content to dehort others, or else by faithfulnesse of obedience declare how great a service it is to God, to obey your Magistrates faithfully, and to serve in subjection truly.

Well, if yee had not thus grievously offended God, whom yee ought to worship, what can yee reasonably think it, to bee no fault against the King, whom yee ought to reverence? Yee be bound by Gods word to obey your King, and is it no break of duty to withstand your King? If the servant be bound to obey his master in the familie, is not the subject bound to serve the King in his Realme? The childe is bound to the private father, and be we not all bound to the common-wealths father? If wee ought to be subject to the King for Gods sake, ought we not then, I pray you, to be faithfully subject to the King? If we ought dutifully to shew all obedience to heathen Kings, shall wee not willingly and truly be subject to Christian Kings? If one ought to

submit,

ſubmit himſelfe by humilitie to another, ought we not all by dutie to be ſubject to our King? If the members of our naturall body all follow the head, ſhall not the members of the politicall body all obey the King? If good manners be content to give place, the lower to the higher, ſhall not religion teach us alway to give place to the higheſt? If true ſubjects will dye gladly in the Kings ſervice, ſhould not all ſubjects think it dutie to obey the King with juſt ſervice? But you have not only diſobeyed, like ill ſubjects; but alſo taken ſtoutly rule upon you, like wicked Magiſtrats. Yee have been called to obedience, by counſell of private men, by the advice of the Kings Majeſties Councell, by the Kings Majeſties free pardon, but what counſell taketh place where ſturdineſſe is law, and churliſh anſwers bee counted wiſdome? Who can perſwade where treaſon is aboue reaſon, and might ruleth right, and it is had for lawfull whatſoever is luſtfull, & commotioners are better then commiſſioners, and common woe is named commonwealth? Have yee not broken his laws, diſobeyed his Councell, rebelled againſt him? And what is the commonwealth worth, whē the law which is indifferent for all men, ſhall be wilfully and ſpightfully broken of head-ſtrong men, that ſeek againſt lawes to order lawes; that thoſe may take place, not what the conſent of wiſe men hath appointed, but what the luſt of Rebells hath determined. What unthriftineſſe is in ill ſeruants, wickedneſſe in unnaturall children, ſturdineſſe in unruly ſubjects, crueltie in fierce enimies, wildneſſe in beaſt-

ly mindes, pride in disdainfull hearts, that floweth now in you: which haue fled from housed conspiracies to encamped robberies; and are better contented to suffer famine, cold, travell, to glut your lusts, then to liue in quietnesse, to saue the Commonwealth: & think more liberty in wilfulnesse, then wisdome in dutifulnesse: and so run head-long not to the mischiefe of other, but to the destructiō of your selues, and undoe by folly that yee intend by mischiefe, neither seeing how to remedie that yee judge faulty, nor willing to save your selves from miserie, which stiffe-neckednesse cannot doe, but honestie of obedience must frame.

If authoritie would serve, under a King the Councell have greatest authoritie; if wisdome and gravity might take place, they be of most experience; if knowledge of the Commonwealth could help, they must by daily conference of matters understand it best: yet neither the authority that the Kings Majestie hath given them, nor the gravity which you knowe to be in them, nor the knowledge which with great travell they have gotten, can move yee either to keep you in the duty yee ought to doe, or to avoid the great disorder wherein yee be. For where disobedience is thought stoutnesse, and sullennesse is counted manhood, and stomaking is courage, and prating is judged wisdome, and the elvisheft is most meet to rule, how can other just authority be obeyed, or sad counsell be followed, or good knowledge of matters be heard, or commandments of Councellours be considered? And how is the King obeyed,

whose

whoſe wiſeſt be withſtãded, the diſobedi ẽteſt obeyed, the high in authority not weighed, the unskilfulleſt made chiefe Captaines, to the Nobleſt moſt hurt intended, the braggingeſt brawler to be moſt ſafe. And even as the viler parts of the body would contende in knowledge & government with the five wits, ſo doe the lower parts of the Commonwealth enterpriſe as high a matter, to ſtriveagainſt their dutie of obedience to the Councell.

But what talke I of diſobedience ſo quietly? have not ſuch mad rages run in your heads, that forſaking and burſting the quietneſſe of the common peace, yee have hainouſly & Traiterouſly encamped your ſelfe in field, & there like a byle in a body, nay like a ſinke in a towne, have gathered together all the naſty vagabonds, and idle loiterers, to beare armour againſt him, with whom all godly and good ſubjects will live and dye withall? If it be a fault, when two fight together, and the Kings peace broken, and puniſhment to be ſought therefore, can it be but an outragious and a deteſtable miſchiefe, when ſo many Rebells in number, malitious in minde, miſchievous in enterpriſe, fight, not among themſelves, but againſt all the Kings true and obedient ſubjects, and ſeek to prove whether rebellion may beat down honeſty, and wickedneſſe may overcome truth or no? If it be treaſon to ſpeake hainouſly of the Kings Majeſtie, who is not hurt thereby, and the infamie returneth to the ſpeaker againe, what kinde of outragious and horrible treaſon is it to aſſemble in campe an armie againſt him, and ſo not only intende an overthrowe

verthrowe to him, and alſo to his Commonwealth, but alſo to caſt him into an infamie through all outward and ſtrange nations, and perſwade them that he is hated of his people, whom he cannot rule, and that they be no better then villaines, which will not with good orders be ruled. What death can be deviſed cruell enough for thoſe Rebells, who with trouble ſeeke death, and cannot quench the thirſt of their rebellion, but with the bloud of true ſubjects, and hate the Kings mercifull pardon, when they miſerably have tranſgreſſed, and in ſuch an outrage of miſchiefe will not by ſtubborneſſe acknowledge themſelves to have faulted, but intende to broyle the Commonwealth with the flame of their treaſon, and as much as lyeth in them, not onely to annoy themſelves, but to deſtroy all other. He that is miſcontented with things that happen, and becauſe he cannot beare the miſery of them, renteth his haire, and teareth his skinne, and mangleth his face, which eaſeth not his ſorrow, but increaſeth his miſery, may he not be juſtly called mad and phantaſticall, aad worthie whoſe wiſdome ſhould be ſuſpected? And what ſhall we ſay of them, who being in the Commonwealth, feeling a ſoare grievous unto them, and eaſie to have been amended, ſought not the remedy, but haue increaſed the griefe, and like frantick beaſts, raging againſt their head, doe teare and deface as much as lyeth in them, his whole authoritie in government, and violently take to themſelves that rule on them, which he by policie hath granted unto other. And who waighing well the

heavineſſe

heavineſſe of the fault, may not juſtly ſay and hold them to be worſe herein then any kinde of bruite beaſts. For we ſee that the ſheep will obey the Shepheard, and the Nete be ruled by the Nete-heard, & the Horſe will know his keeper, and the Dog will be in awe of his Maſter, and every one of them feed there, and of that, as his keeper and ruler doth appoint him; and goeth from thence, and that, as he is forbidden by his ruler. And yet we have not heard of, that any Heard or company of theſe have riſen againſt their Herdmen or governour, but be alwaies contented not only to obey them, but alſo to ſuffer them to take profit of them. And wee ſee furthermore, that all Herds, and all ſorts, be more eager in fierceneſſe againſt all kinde of ſtrangers, then they be againſt their owne rulers, and will eaſier offend him who hath not hurt them, than touch their ruler who ſeeketh profit on them. But yee that ought to be governed by your Magiſtrates, as the Herds by the Herdman, and ought to be like ſheep to your King, who ought to be like a Shepheard unto you, even in the time when your profit was ſought, and better redreſſe was intended then your upſtirres and unquietneſſe could obtaine, have beyond the cruelties of all beaſts, fouly riſen againſt your ruler, and ſhewed your ſelves worthie to be orderd like beaſts, who in kinde of obedience will fall from the ſtate of men. A Dog ſtoupeth when he is beaten of his Maſter, not for lack of ſtomack, but for naturall obedience: you being not ſtriken of your head, but favoured, not kept downe, but ſuccoured, and remedied

by law, have violently againſt law, not onely barked like beaſts, but alſo bitten like hell-hounds. What, is the miſchiefe of ſedition, either not known unto you, or not feared? Have not examples aforetimes, both told the end of Rebels, and the wickednesse of rebellion it ſelfe? But as for old examples, let them paſſe for a while, as things well to be conſidered, but at this preſent one thing more to be waighed. Looke upon your ſelves, after yee have wickedly ſtept into this horrible kinde of treaſon, doe yee not ſee how many bottomleſſe whirlepooles of miſchiefe yee be gulpht withall, and what loathſome kindes of rebellion yee be faine to wade through?

Yee have ſent out in the Kings name, againſt the Kings will, precepts of all kindes, and without commandment commanded his ſubjects, & unrulily have ruled, where yee liſted to command, thinking your own fanſies the Kings commandements, and rebels luſts in things to be right government of things, not looking what ſhould follow by reaſon, but what your ſelves follow by affection. And is it not a dangerous and a cruell kinde of treaſon, ſo to give out precepts to the Kings people? There can be no juſt execution of laws, reformation of faults, giving out of commandments, but from the King. For in the King onely is the right hereof, and the authoritie of him derived by his appointment to his Miniſters. Yee having no authority of the King, but taking it of your ſelves, what think yee your ſelves to be? Miniſters yee be none, except yee be the Divels Miniſters, for he is the author of ſedition. The Kings Ma-

jeſtie

jestie intendeth to maintaine peace, and to oppresse warre, yee stirre up uproares of people, hurlie burlies of vagabonds, routs of robbers, is this any part of the Kings ministery? If a vagabond would doe what him lust, and call himselfe your servant, and execute such offices of trust, whether yee would or no, as yee have committed to another mans credit, what would every one of you say or doe herein? Would yee suffer it? Yee wander out of houses, yee make every day new matters as it pleaseth you, yee take in hand the execution of those things, God by his word forbidding the same, which God hath put the Magistrates in trust withall. What can yee say to this? Is it sufferable think yee? If yee told a private message in another mans name, can it be but a false lye I pray yee? And to tell a fained message to the Commonwealth, and that from the King, can it be honest think yee? To command is more then to speake, what is it then to command so traiterous a lye? This then which is in word a deceitfull lye, and in deed a traiterous fact, noysome to the Commonwealth, unhonourable to the King, mischievous in you, how can you otherwise judge of it, but to be an unheard of and notable disobedience to the King, and therefore by notable example to be punished, and not with gentlenesse of pardon to be forgiven.

Yee have robbed every honest house, and spoiled them unjustly, & pittifully wronged poore men being no offenders, to their utter undoing, and yet yee think yee have not broken the Kings lawes. The Kings Majesties law and his commandment is that

every man ſhould ſafely keep his own, and uſe it reaſonably to an honeſt gaine of his living: Yee violently take and carry away from men without cauſe, all things whereby they ſhould maintaine, not onely themſelves, but alſo their familie, and leave them ſo naked, that they ſhall feele the ſmart of your curſed enterpriſe, longer then your own unnaturall and ungodly ſtomacks would well vouchſafe. By juſtice yee ſhould neither hurt nor wrong man; and your pretenſed cauſe of this monſtrous ſtirre, is to increaſe mens wealth: and yet how many, and ſay truth, have yee decayed and undone, by ſpoiling and taking away their goods? How ſhould honeſt men live quietly in the Commonwealth at any time, if their goods either gotten by their own labour, or left to them by their friends, ſhall unlawfully and unorderly, to the feeding of a ſort of Rebels, be ſpoiled and waſted, and utterly ſcattered abroad? The thing yee take, is not your right, it is another mans owne. The manner of taking againſt his will, is unlawfull, and againſt the order of every good Commonwealth. The cauſe why yee take it, is miſchievous & horrible, to fat up your ſedition. Yee that take it, be wicked traitours, and common enimes of all good order. If he that deſireth another mans goods or cattle, doe fault, what doth he, think you, whoſe deſire taking followeth, and is led to and fro by luſt, as his wicked fancie void of reaſon doth guide him? He that uſeth not his own well and charitably, hath much to anſwer for, and ſhall they be thought not unjuſt, who not only take away other mens, but alſo

miſuſe

miſuſe and waſte the ſame ungodly? They that take things privily away, and ſteale ſecretly and covertly other mens goods, be by law judged worthie death: and ſhall they, that without ſhame ſpoile things openly, and be not afraid by impudence to profeſſe their ſpoile, be thought either honeſt creatures to God, or faithfull ſubjects to their King, or naturall men to their Countrie? If nothing had moved you but the example of miſchiefe, and the foule practice of other moved by the ſame, yee ſhould yet haue abſtained from ſo licentious and ſo villanous a ſhew of robbery, conſidering how many honeſter there be that being loath their wickedneſſe ſhould be blazed abroad, yet be found out by providence, and hanged for deſert. What ſhall we then think or ſay of you? ſhall we call you pickers, or hid theeves? nay more then theeves, day theeves, Herd ſtealers, Sheire ſpoilers, and utter deſtroyers of all kinde of families, both among the poore, and alſo among the rich. Let us yet farther ſee, is there no more things wherein yee have broken the Kings lawes, and ſo wildly diſobeyed him, contrary to your bounden dutie?

Yee have not only ſpoiled the Kings true ſubjects of their goods, but alſo yee have impriſoned their bodies, which ſhould be at libertie under the King; and reſtrained them of their ſervice, which by dutie they owe the King; and appaired both ſtrength and health, wherewith they live and ſerve the King. Is there any honeſt thing more deſired then liberty? yee have ſhamefully ſpoiled them thereof. Is there any thing more dutifull then to ſerve their Lord and

Maſter? But as that was deſerved of the one part, ſo was it hindered and ſtopped on your part. For neither can the King be ſerved, nor families kept, nor the Commonwealth looked unto, where freedome of liberty is ſtopped, and diligence of ſervice is hindred, and the help of ſtrength and health abated. Mens bodies ought to be free from all mens bondage and cruelty, and only in this Realme be ſubject in publike puniſhment to our publike Governour, and neither be touched of headleſſe Captaines, nor holden of brainleſſe Rebels. For the government of ſo pretious a thing, ought to belong unto the moſt noble ruler, and not juſtly to be in every mans power, which is juſtly every living mans treaſure. For what goods be ſo deare to every man as his owne body is, which is the true veſſell of the minde to bee meaſurably kept of every man for all exerciſes and ſervices of the minde. If yee may not of your own authority meddle with mens goods, much leſſe you may of your own authoritie take order with mens bodies. For what be goods in compariſon of health, libertie, and ſtrength, which be all ſetled and faſtned in the body. They that ſtrike other, doe greatly offend and be juſtly puniſhable. And ſhall they that cruelly and wrongfully torment mens bodies with yrons, and impriſonments, be thought not of other, but of themſelves honeſt, and plaine, and true dealing men? What ſhall we ſay by them, who in a private buſineſſe will let a man to goe his journey in the Kings high way? Doe they not, think yee, plaine wrong? Then in a common cauſe, not onely to hinder

der them, but alſo to deale cruelly with them, and ſhut them from doing their ſervice to the King, and their dutie to the Commonwealth, is it not both diſobedience, crueltie, and miſchiefe think yee? What an hinderance is it, to have a good garment hurt, any jewell appaired, or any eſteemed thing to be decayed? And ſeeing no earthly thing a man hath more pretious then his body, to cauſe it to be cruelly tormented with yrons, feebled with cold, weakned with ordering, can it be thought any other thing but wrong to the ſufferer, crueltie in the doer, and great diſobedience & tranſgreſſion to the King? How then be yee able to defend it? But ſeeing yee ſo unpittifully vex men, caſt them in priſon, lade thē with yrons, pine them with famine, contrary to the rule of nature, contrary to the Kings Majeſties laws, contrary to Gods holy ordinances, having no matter, but pretenſed and fained gloſes, yee be not only diſobedient to the King like Rebels, but withſtanding the law of nature like beaſts, and ſo worthie to dye like dogs, except the Kings Majeſtie, without reſpect of your deſerving, doe mercifully grant you of his goodneſſe, that which you cannot eſcape by juſtice.

Yet yee being not content with this, as ſmall things enterpriſe great matters, and as though yee could not ſatisfie your ſelfe, if yee ſhould leave any miſchiefe undone, have fought bloud with crueltie, and have ſlaine of the Kings true ſubjects many, thinking their murder to be your defence, when as yee have increaſed the fault of your vile rebellion,

with

with the horrour of bloudshed, and so have burdened mischiefe with mischiefe, while it come to an importable weight of mischiefe. What could wee doe more in the horribleſt kinde of faults, to the greateſt transgreſſours and offenders of God and men, then to look ſtraightly on them by death, and ſo to rid them out of the Commonwealth by ſevere puniſhment, whom yee thought unworthie to live among men for their doings. And thoſe who have not offended the King, but defended his Realme, & by obedience of ſervice ſought to puniſh the diſobedient, and for ſafeguard of every man put themſelves under dutie of law, thoſe have yee miſerably and cruelly ſlaine, and bathed you in their bloud, whoſe doings yee ſhould have followed and ſo have appaired the Commonwealth, both by deſtruction of good men, and alſo by increaſe of Rebels. And how can that Commonwealth by any meanes indure, wherein every man without authoritie, may unpuniſhed ſlay whom he liſt, and that in ſuch caſe, as thoſe who be ſlaine ſhew themſelves moſt noble of courage, and moſt readie to ſerve the King and the Commonwealth, and thoſe as doe ſlay be moſt villanous and traiterous Rebels that any Commonwealth did ever ſuſtaine. For a Citie & a Province bee not the faire houſes and the ſtrong walls, nor the defence of any engine, but the living bodies of men, being able in number and ſtrength to maintain themſelves by good order of juſtice, and to ſerve for all neceſſarie and behoueable uſes in the Commonwealth. And when as mans body being a part of the whole

whole Commonwealth, is wrongfully touched any way, and ſpecially by death, then ſuffereth the Commonwealth great injurie, and that alway ſo much the more, how honeſter and nobler he is who is injuriouſly murdered. How was the Lord *Sheffeld* handled among you, a noble Gentleman, and of good ſervice, both fit for counſell in peace, and for conduct in warre, conſidering either the gravitie of his wiſdome, or the authoritie of his perſon, or his ſervice to the Commonwealth, or the hope that all men had in him, or the need that England had of ſuch, or among many notably good, his ſingular excellency, or the favour all men bare toward him, being loved of every man, and hated of no man. Conſidered yee, who ſhould by dutie be the Kings Subjects, either how yee ſhould not have offended the King, or after offence, have required the Kings pardon, or not to have refuſed his goodneſſe offered, or at length to have yeelded to his mercy, or not to have ſlain thoſe who came for his ſervice, or to have ſpared thoſe who in danger offered ranſome. But all theſe things forgotten by rage of rebellion, becauſe one madneſſe cannot be without infinite vices, yee ſlew him cruelly, who offered himſelfe manfully; nor would not ſpare for ranſome, who was worthy for nobleneſſe to have had honour; and hewed him bare, whom yee could not hurt armed; and by ſlavery ſlew nobilitie; indeed miſerably, in faſhion cruelly, in cauſe divelliſhly. Oh with what cruell ſpite was violently ſundred, ſo noble a body from ſo godly a mind? Whoſe death muſt rather be revenged then lamented, whoſe

death was no lack to himſelfe, but to his countrey; whoſe death might every way been better borne, then at a Rebels hand. Violence is in all things hurtfull, but in life horrible. What ſhould I ſpeak of others in the ſame caſe, divers & notable, whoſe death for manhood and ſervice, can want no worthy praiſe, ſo long as theſe ugly ſtirres of rebellion can bee had in minde. God hath himſelfe joyned mans body & his ſoule together, not to be parted aſunder, afore he either diſſever them himſelfe, or cauſe them to be diſſevered by his miniſter. And ſhall Rebels and headleſſe camps, being armed againſt God, and in field againſt their King, think it no fault to ſhed bloud of true ſubjects, having neither office of God, nor appointment of miniſters, nor juſt cauſe of rebellion? He that ſtealeth any part of a mans ſubſtance, is worthie to looſe his life. What ſhall we thinke of them, who ſpoile men of their liues, for the maintenance whereof, not only ſubſtance and riches bee fought for, but alſo all common wealths be deviſed. Now then, your own conſciences ſhould be made your judges, and none other ſet to give ſentence againſt yee: ſeeing yee have been ſuch bloudſheders, ſo hainous man-quellers, ſo horrible murderers; could you doe any other then plainly confeſſe, your foule and wicked rebellion to bee grievous againſt God, and traiterous to the King, and hurtfull to the Commonwealth? So many grievous faults meeting together in one ſinke, might not onely have diſcouraged, but alſo driven to deſperation, any other honeſt or indifferent mind. But what feele they, whoſe hearts

hearts ſo deep miſchiefe hath hardned, and by vehemencie of affection be made unſhamefaſt, and ſtop all diſcourſe of reaſon, to let at large the full ſcope of their unmeaſurable madneſſe.

Private mens goods ſeeme litle to your unſatiable deſires, yee have waxed greedie now upon Cities, and have attempted mighty ſpoiles, to glut up, if you could, your waſting hunger. Oh how much have they need of, that will never be contented? and what riches can ſuffice any that will attempt high enterpriſes above their eſtate? Yee could not maintaine your camps with your private goods, with your neighbours portion, but yee muſt alſo attempt Cities, becauſe yee ſought great ſpoiles, with other mens loſſes, & had forgotten how yee lived at home honeſtly with your own, and thought them worthy death that would diſquiet yee in your houſe, and pluck away that which yee by right of law thought to be your own. Herein ſee what yee would have done, ſpoiled the Kings Majeſties ſubjects, weakned the Kings ſtrength, overthrowne his townes, taken away his munition, drawne his ſubjects to like rebellion, yea and as it is among forraine enimies in ſacking of Cities, no doubt thereof, yee would have fallen to ſlaughter of men, raviſhing of wives, deflouring of Maidens, chopping of children, firing of houſes, beating downe of ſtreets, overthrowing of all together. For what meaſure have men in the increaſe of madneſſe, when they cannot at the beginning ſtay themſelves from fallinginto it. And if the beſetting of one houſe to robbe it, be juſtly deemed

worthie death, what ſhall we think of them that beſiege whole Cities for deſire of ſpoile? We live under a King to ſerve him at all times, when hee ſhall need our ſtrength, and ſhall yee then not only withdraw your ſelves, which ought as much to be obedient as we be, but alſo violently pluck other away too, from the dutie unto the which by Gods commandment all ſubjects be ſtraightly bound, and by all lawes every nation is naturally led? The townes be not only the ornament of the Realme, but alſo the ſeat of Merchants, the place of Handycrafts, that men ſcattered in Villages, & needing divers things, may in litle roome know where to finde their lack. To overthrowe them then, is nothing elſe but to waſte your owne commodities, ſo that when yee would buy a neceſſary thing for mony, yee could not tell where to find it. Munition ſerveth the King, not only for the defence of his own, but alſo for the invaſion of his enimie. And if yee will then ſo ſtraitly deale with him, that yee will not let him ſo much as defend his own, yee offer him double injurie, both that ye let him from doing any notable fact abroad, and alſo that yee ſuffer not him quietly to injoy his own at home. But herein hath notably appeared, what Cities have faithfully ſerved and ſuffered extreame danger, not only of goods, but alſo of famine & dearth, rather then to ſuffer the Kings enimies to enter: and what white-liverd Cities have not onely not withſtood them, but alſo with ſhame favoured them, and with miſchiefe ayded them. And I would I might praiſe herein all Cities alike, which I would doe,

doe, if all were like worthie. For then I might ſhew more faith in ſubjects, then ſtrength in Rebels, and teſtifie to men to come, what a generall faith every Citie bare to the Kings Majeſty, whoſe age although it were not fit to rule, yet his ſubjects hearts were willing to obey: thinking not onely of his hope, which all men conceive hereafter to be in him, but alſo of the juſt kinde of government, which in his minoritie his Councell doth uſe among them. And here, how much, and how worthily may *Exeter* be commended? which being in the midſt of Rebels, unvictualled, unfurniſhed, unprepared for ſo long a ſiege, did nobly hold out the continuall and dangerous aſſault of the Rebell. For they ſuſtained the violence of the Rebell, not only when they had plenty enough of victuall, but alſo eleven or twelue daies after the extreame famine came on them, and living without bread, were in courage ſo manfull, and in dutie ſo conſtant, that they thought it yet much better to die the extreame death of hunger, ſhewing truth to their King, and love to their Countrie, than to giue any place to the Rebell, and favour him with ayde, although they might have done it with their leſſe danger. Whoſe example, if *Norwich* had followed, & had not rather given place to traitour *Ket*, than to keep their duty; and had not ſought more ſafeguard then honeſty, and private hope more then common quietneſſe, they had ended their rebellion ſooner, and eſcaped themſelves better, and ſaved the loſſe of the worthie Lord *Sheffeld*, in whom was more true ſervice for his life, then in them for

their goods. And although this cannot be ſpoken againſt certaine honeſt that were amongſt them, whoſe praiſe was the greater, becauſe they were ſo few: yet the greater number was ſuch, that they not only obeyed the Rebell for feare, but alſo followed him for love, and did ſo traiterouſly order the Kings band under my Lord Marqueſſe, that they ſuffered more dammage out of their houſes by the Townesmen, than they did abroad by the Rebels. Whoſe fault, as the Kings Majeſtie may pardon, ſo I would either the example might be forgotten, that no Citie might hereafter follow the like, or the deed be ſo abhorred, that other hereafter would avoid the like ſhame, and learne to be noble by *Exeter*, whoſe truth doth not only deſerve long praiſes, but alſo great reward.

Who then that would willingly defend yee, can ſay any thing for yee, which have ſo diverſly faulted, ſo traiterouſly offended, not only againſt private men ſeverally, but alſo generally againſt whole Townes: and that after ſuch a ſort, as outward enimies, full of deadly feud, could not more cruelly invade them. And thus the Kings Majeſtie diſhonoured, his Councell diſobeyed, the goods of the poore ſpoiled, the houſes of the wealthy ſacked, honeſt mens bodies impriſoned, worthie mens perſonages ſlaine, Cities beſieged and threatned, and all kind of things diſordered: can yee without teares and repentance heare ſpoken of, which without honeſty and godlineſſe yee practiſed, & not finde in your hearts now to returne to dutie, which by witchcraft of ſedition,

dition were drowned in diſorder? Have yee not in diſorder firſt grievouſly offended God, next traiterouſly riſen againſt your King, and ſo neither worthy everlaſting life, as long as yee ſo remaine, nor yet civill life, being in ſuch a breach of common quietneſſe. If every one of theſe cannot by themſelves pluck you back from theſe your lewd & outragious enterpriſes, yet let altogether ſtirre yee, or at leaſt be a fearefull example to other, to beware by your unmeaſurable folly, how they doe ſo far provoke God, or offend man, and find by your miſtemper to be themſelves better ordered, and learne ſtill to obey, becauſe they would not repent, and ſo to live with honeſtie, that they would neither willingly offend Gods law, nor diſobey mans.

But and yee were ſo much blered, that you did think impoſſible things; and your reaſon gaue yee againſt all reaſon, that yee neither diſpleaſed God herein, nor offended the King: yet be yee ſo blinde, that yee underſtand not your own caſe, nor your neighbours miſery, nor the ruine of the whole commonwealth, which doth evidently follow your ſo foule and deteſtable ſedition? Doe yee not ſee, how for the maintenance of theſe ungodly rablements, not only Cities and Villages, but alſo Shieres and Countries be utterly deſtroyed? Is not their corne waſted, their cattle fetcht away, their houſes rifled, their goods ſpoiled, and all to feed your up-riſing without reaſon, and to maintaine this tumult of Rebellion, invented of the Divell, continued by you, & to be overthrowne by the power of Gods mighty

ty hand? And why ſhould not ſo hurtfull waſting & herrying of Countries, be juſtly puniſhed with great ſeveritie, ſeeing robbing of houſes, & taking of purſes, doe by law deſerve the extremitie of death? How many ſuffer injurie, when one hundred of a Shiere is ſpoiled? and what injury, think yee, is done, when not only whole Shieres be deſtroied, but alſo every quarter of the Realme touched? Haue yee not brought upon us all poverty, weakneſſe, and hatred within the Realme? and diſcourage, ſhame, & dammage, without the Realme? If yee miſerably intended, not onely to undoe other, but alſo to deſtroy your ſelves, and to overthrow the whole Realme, could yee have taken a readier way to your own ruine, then this is?

And firſt, if yee be any thing reaſonable, lift up your reaſon, & waigh by wiſdome, if not all things, yet your own caſes: and learne in the beginning of matters, to foreſee the end; and ſo judge adviſedly, ere yee enter into any thing haſtily. See yee not this yeare the loſſe of Harveſt? And think yee, yee can grow to wealth that yeare, when yee loſe your thrift and profit? Barnes be poore mens ſtorehouſes, wherein lieth a great part of every mans own living, his wiues and his childrens living, wherewith men maintaine their families, pay their rents, and therefore be alwaies thought moſt rich when they have beſt crops. And now when there is neither plentie of hay, nor ſufficient of ſtrawe, nor corne enough, & that through the great diſorder of your wicked rebellion, can yee think yee to doe well, when yee undoe

doe your ſelves ; and judge it a Commonwealth, when the Commons are deſtroyed; & ſeek your hap by unhappineſſe; and eſteeme your own loſſe, to bee your own forwardneſſe, and by this judgement ſhew your ſelves, how litle you underſtand other mens matters, when yee can ſcarcely conſider the waighties of your own? Hath not the hay this yeere, as it roſe from the ground, ſo rotted to the ground again? and where it was wont by mens ſeaſonable labour, to be taken in due time, and then ſerve for the maintenance of horſe and cattle, wherewith we live, now by your diſordered miſchiefe hath been by mens idleneſſe and undutifulneſſe, let alone untouched: & ſo neither ſerveth the poore to make mony of, nor any cattle to live with. The corne was ſowne with labour, and the ground tilled for it with labour, and looked to be brought home againe with labour, and for lack of honeſt labourers, is loſt on the ground: the owners being loyterers, and ſeeking other mens, have loſt their own, and hoping for mountaines, lacked their preſent thrift, neither obtaining that they ſought, nor ſeeking that they ought. And how ſhall men live when the maintenance of their proviſion is lacking? For labouring and their old ſtore is waſted by wildneſſe of ſedition, and ſo neither ſpare the old nor ſave the new. How can men be fedde then, or beaſts live, when as ſuch waſtfull negligence is miſerably uſed, and miſpending the time of their profit, in ſhamefull diſorder of inobedience, they care not greatly what becomes of their own, becauſe they intend to live by other mens? Hay is gone, corne is

waſted, ſtrawe is ſpoiled: what reckoning of harveſt can yee make, either for the aid of others, or for the relieſe of your ſelves? And thus have yee brought in one kinde of miſery, which if yee ſaw before, as yee be like to feele after, although yee had hated the Commonwealth, yet for love of your ſelves, yee would have avoided the great enormitie thereof, into the which yee wilfully now have caſt in your ſelves.

Another no leſſe is, that ſuch plenty of victuall, as was abundantly in every quarter, for the relieſe of us all, is now all waſtfully and unthriftfully ſpent, in maintaining you unlawfull Rebels, and ſo with diſorder all is conſumed, which with good husbandry might long have endured. For ſo much as would have ſerved a whole yeare at home, with diligent & skilfull heed of husbandrie, that is wilfully waſted in a moneth in the Camp, through the ravening ſpoil of villany. For what is unordered plenty, but a waſtfull ſpoile? whereof the inconvenience is ſo great, as yee be worthie to feele, & bringeth in more hardneſſe of living, greater dearth of all things, and occaſioneth many cauſes of diſeaſes. The price of things muſt needs increaſe much, when the number of things waxeth leſſe, and by ſcarcitie be inhanſed, and compelleth men to abate their liberality in houſe, both to their own, and alſo to ſtrangers. And where the rich wanteth, what can the poore finde? who in a common ſcarcitie, liveth moſt ſcarcely, and feeleth quickleſt the ſharpneſſe of ſtarving, when every man for lack is hungerbitten: which if yee had well remembred

membred before, as yee now may after perceive, yee would not I think ſo ſtiffneckedly have reſiſted, and endangered your ſelfe in the ſtorm of famine, whereof yee moſt likely muſt have the greateſt part, which moſt ſtubbornly reſiſted, to your own ſhame and confuſion.

Experience teacheth us, that after a great dearth, commeth a great death, for that when men in great want of meat eat much ill meat, they fill their bodies with ill humours, and caſt them from their ſtate of health, into a ſubjection of ſickneſſe, becauſe the good bloud in the body is not able to keep his temper for the multitude of the ill humours that corrupteth the ſame. And ſo grow great and deadly plagues, and deſtroy great numbers of all ſorts, ſparing no kinde that they light on, neither reſpecting the poore with mercy, nor the rich with favour. Can yee therefore think herein; when yee ſee decay of victuals, the rich pinch, the poore famiſh, the following of diſeaſes, the greatneſſe of death, the mourning of widowes, the pittifulneſſe of the fatherleſſe, and all this miſery to come through your unnaturall miſbehaviour, that yee have not dangerouſly hurt the Commons of your country, with a dolefull and an uncurable wound? Theſe things being once felt in the Commonwealth, as they muſt needs be, every man ſeeth by and by what followeth, a great diminiſhment of the ſtrength of the Realme, when the due number that the Realme doth maintain is made leſſe, and thereby we be made rather a prey for our enimies, then a ſafetie for our ſelves.

And how can there be but a great decay of people at the length, when some be overthrown in war, some suffer for punishment, some pine for famine, some die with the camps diet, some be consumed with sickness. For although you think your selves able to match with a few unprepared Gentlemen, & put them from their houses, that yee might gaine the spoile, doe yee judge therefore your selves strong enough, not only to withstand a Kings power, but also to overthrow it? Is it possible that yee should have so mad a frensie in your head, that yee should think the number yee see so strong, that all yee see not, should not be able to prevaile to the contrarie? With what reason could yee think, that if yee bode the hot brunt of battle, but yee must needs feele the smart, specially the Kings power comming against you, which if yee feare not, belike yee knowe not the force thereof? And so much the greater number is lost in the Realme, that both the overcommer, and the overcommed be parties, although unlike, of one Realme: and what losse is, not onely of either side, but of both, that doth plainly redown to the whole. Then where so great and so horrible a fault is committed, as worse cannot be mentioned of, from the beginning, and bringeth in withall such penury, such weakenesse, such disorder in the Commonwealth, as no mischiefe beside could doe the like: can any man think with just reason that all shall escape unpunished, that shall escape the sword; & not many for terrour and example sake, should be looked unto, who haue been either great doers in such a disordered

villanie

villanie, or great Counſellours to ſuch an outgrown miſchiefe, ſeeing the only remedy of redreſſing wilfull faults, is a juſt and a ſevere puniſhment of ſuch, whoſe naughty deeds good men ought to abhorre for duties ſake, & ill men may dread for like puniſhments ſake: and a free licence to doe miſchiefe unpuniſhed, is ſo dangerous, that the ſufferance of one, is the occaſion of the fall of a great number; and womaniſh pittie to one, is a deceitfull crueltie to the whole, inticing them to their own deſtructiō by ſufferance, which would have avoided the danger by fore-puniſhment.

And in ſuch a barrenneſſe of victuall, as muſt needs come after ſo ravening a ſpoile, it muſt needs be, that ſome, though few, ſhall be ſo nipt with eagerneſſe of famine, that they ſhall not recover againe themſelues out of ſo fretting a danger. So in a generall weakneſſe, where all ſhall be feebled, ſome muſt needs die, and ſo diminiſh the number, and abate ſuch ſtrength, as the Realme defended it ſelfe withall afore. Which occaſion of never ſo few, comming of ſo great a cauſe, if yee ſhould make juſt amends for, not of recompence, which yee could not; but of puniſhment, which yee ought, how many, how divers, and how cruell deaths, ought every one of yee often ſuffer? How many came to the Camps from long labour to ſuddaine eaſe, and from meane fare to ſtroying of victuall, and ſo fell in a manner unawares, to ſuch a contrary change, that nature her ſelf abiding never great and ſuddaine changes, cannot beare it without ſome grounds entred of diſeaſes to

come, which uncircumspect men shall sooner feele then think of, and then will scarcely judge the cause, when they shall be vexed with the effect. It is litle marvell that idlenesse, and meat of another mans charge, will soone feed up & fat likely men: but it is great marvell if idlenesse & other mens meat doe not abate the same by sickenesse againe, & specially comming from the one, and going to the other, contrary in those who violently seek to turn in a moment, the whole Realme to the contrary. For while their minde changeth from obedience to unrulinesse, and turneth it selfe from honesty to wildnesse, and their bodies goe from labour to idlenesse, from small fare to spoile of victuall, and from beds in the night to cabins, and from sweet houses to stinking camps, it must needs be by changing of affections which alter the body, and by using of rest that filleth the body, and glutting of meats which weakneth the body, & with cold in the nights which acrazeth the body, & with corrupt ayre which infecteth the body, that there follow some grievous tempest, not onely of contagious sickenesse, but also of present death to the body.

The greatest pluck of all, is that vehemence of plague, which naturally followeth the dint of hunger, which when it entreth once among men, what darts of pangues, what throwes of paines, what shouts of death doth it cast out, how many fall, not astonied with the sickenesse, but fretted with the pain, how beateth it downe, not only small townes, but also great countries?

This

This when yee ſee light firſt on your beaſts, which lacke fodder, and after fall on men, whoſe bodies gape for it, and ſee the ſcarceneſſe of men to be by this your foule enterpriſe, and not onely other men touched with plagues, but alſo your own houſe ſtung with death, and the plague alſo raiſed of your riſing, to fire your ſelves, can yee think to be any other, but manquellers of other, and murderers of your ſelves, and the principalls of the overthrow of ſo great a number, as ſhall either by ſword or puniſhment, famine, or ſome plague, or peſtilence be conſumed, and waſted out of the Commonwealth? And ſeeing he that decayeth the number of Cottages, or Plowes in a Towne, ſeemeth to be an enimie to the Commonwealth, ſhall we not count him, not only an enimie, but alſo a murtherer of his country, who by hare-brained unrulineſſe, cauſeth the utter ruine, and peſtilent deſtruction of ſo many thouſand men? Grant this folly then and overſight to be ſuch as worthily yee may count it, and I ſhall goe further in declaring of other great inconveniences, which your dangerous & furious misbehaviour hath hurtfully brought in, ſeeing divers honeſt and true dealing men, whoſe living is by their own proviſion, hath come ſo afore-hand by time, that they haue been able well, to liue honeſtly in their houſes, and pay beſides their rents of their farmes truly, & now have by your cruelty and abhorred inſurrections loſt their goods, their cattle, their harveſt, which they had gotten before, and wherewith they intended to live hereafter, and now be brought to this extremitie

tremitie, that they be neither able to live, as they were wont at home afore, nor to pay their accuſtomable rent at their due time. Whereby they bee brought into trouble and unquietneſſe, not only muſing what they have loſt by you, but alſo curſing you by whom they have loſt it, and alſo in danger of loſing their holds at their Lords hands, except by pittie they ſhew more mercy then the right of the law will grant by juſtice. And what a griefe is it to an honeſt man, to labour truly in youth, & to gaine painfully by labour, wherewith to live honeſtly in age, and to have this, gotten in long time, to be ſuddenly raught away by the violence of ſedition? which name he ought to abhorre by it ſelfe, although no miſery of loſſe followed to him thereby. But what greater griefe ought ſeditious Rebels to have themſelves, who if they be not ſtriken with puniſhment, yet ought to pine in conſcience, and melt away with the griefe of their own faults, when they ſee innocents and men of true ſervice, hindred and burdened with the hurt of their rebellion, and who in a good Commonwealth, ſhould for honeſties ſake proſper, they by theſe Rebels only meanes, be caſt ſo behinde the hand, as they cānot recover eaſily again by their own truth, that which they have loſt by thoſe traitours miſchiefe. And if unjuſt men ought not ſo to bee handled at any mans hands, but only ſtand to the order of a law, how much more ſhould true and faithfull ſubjects, who deſerve praiſe, feele no unquietneſſe, nor be vexed with ſedition, who be obediently in ſubjection, but rather ſeek juſt amends at

falſe

falſe Rebels hands, and by law obtain that they loſt by diſorder, and ſo conſtraine you to the uttermoſt, to pay the recompence of wrongfull loſſes, becauſe yee were the authors of theſe wrongfull ſpoiles. Then would yee ſoon perceive the Commõwealths hurt, not when others felt it who deſerved it not, but when you ſmarted who cauſed it, and ſtood not & looked upon other mens loſſes, which yee might pittie, but tormented with your owne, which yee would lament.

Now I am paſt this miſchiefe, which yee will not hereafter deny, when yee ſhall praiſe other mens foreſight, rather then your wicked doings, in bewailing the end of your furie in whoſe beginning yee now rejoyce. What ſay yee to the number of vagabonds and loytring beggers, which after the overthrow of your camp and ſcattering of this ſeditious number, will ſwarme in every corner of the Realm, and not only ly loitring under hedges, but alſo ſtand ſturdily in Cities, and beg boldly at every dore, leaving labour which they like not, and following idleneſſe which they ſhould not. For every man is eaſily and naturally brought from labour to eaſe, from the better to the worſe, from diligence to ſloathfulneſſe, and after warres it is commonly ſeen, that a great number of thoſe which went out honeſt, returne home againe like roiſters, and as though they were burnt to the warres bottome, they have all their life after an unſavory ſmack thereof, and ſmell ſtill toward day-ſleepers, purſſe-pickers, high-way-robbers, quarrel-makers, yea and bloud-ſheders too

Doe we not ſee commonly in the ende of warres more robbing, more begging, more murdering then before, and thoſe to ſtand in the high way to aske their almes, whom yee be afraid to ſay nay unto honeſty, leaſt they take it away from you violently, and have more cauſe to ſuſpect their ſtrength, then pitty their need. Is it not then daily heard, how men be not only purſued, but utterly ſpoiled, and few may ride ſafe by the Kings way, except they ride ſtrong, not ſo much for feare of their goods, which men eſteeme leſſe, but alſo for danger of their life, which every man loveth. Worke is undone at home, and loiterers linger in ſtreets, lurke in Ale-houſes, range in high-waies, valiant beggers play in townes, & yet complaine of need, whoſe ſtaffe if it be once hot in their hand, or ſluggiſhneſſe bred in their boſomes, they will never be allured to labour againe, contenting themſelves better with idle beggery, then with honeſt and profitable labour. And what more noyſome beaſts to be in a Commonwealth? Drones in Hives ſuck out the hony, a ſmall matter, but yet to be looked on by good husbands. Caterpillers deſtroy the fruit, an hurtfull thing and well ſhifted for, by a diligent overſeer. Divers vermin deſtroy corn, kill Pullein, engines and ſnares be made for them. But what is a loyterer? A ſucker of Honie, a ſpoiler of corne, a deſtroyer of fruit, nay a waſter of mony, a ſpoiler of victuall, a ſucker of bloud, a breaker of orders, a ſeeker of breakes, a queller of life, a Baſiliske of the Commonwealth, which by company & ſight, doth poyſon the whole Countrey, & ſtaineth

honeſt

honeſt mindes, with the infection of his venome, and ſo draweth the Commonwealth to death and deſtruction. Such is the fruit of your labour, and travell for your pretenſed Commonwealth, which juſtice would no man ſhould taſt of but your ſelves, that yee might truely judge of your own miſchiefe, and fray other by example from preſuming the like. When we ſee a great number of flyes in a yeare, wee naturally judge it like to be a great plague, & having ſo great a ſwarming of loytering vagabonds, ready to begge and brawle at every mans dore, which declare a greater infection, can we not look for a grievouſer and perillouſer danger then the plague is? Who can therefore otherwiſe deeme, but this one deadly hurt, wherewith the Commonwealth of our nation is wounded, beſide all other is ſo peſtilent, that there can be no more hurtfull thing in a wel-governed ſtate, nor more throwne into all kinde of vice and unrulineſſe, and therefore this your ſedition is not only moſt odious, but alſo moſt horrible, that hath ſpotted the whole Countrey with ſuch a ſtaine of idleneſſe.

There can be no end of faults, if a man rehearſe all faults that doe neceſſary follow this unruly ſturdineſſe. For not only vagabonds wandering and ſcattering themſelves for miſchiefe, ſhall run in a mans eyes, but alſo diſorder of every degree, ſhall enter in into a mans minde, & ſhall behold hereby the Commonwealth miſerably defaced by you, who ſhould as much as other, have kept your ſelves in order in it. Neither be the Magiſtrates duly obeyed, nor the

lawes justly feared, nor degrees of men considered, nor Masters well served, nor Parents truly reverenced, nor Lords remembred of their tenants, nor yet other naturall, or civill Law much regarded. And it is plainly unpossible that that Countrey shall well stand in government, & the people grow to wealth, where order in every state, is not fitly observed, and that body cannot be without much griefe of inflamation, where any least part is out of joint, or not duly set in his own naturall place. Wherefore order must be kept in the Commonwealth like health in the body, and all the drift of policie looketh to this end, how this temper may bee safely maintained, without any excesse of unmeasurablenesse, either of the one side or of the other. And easie enough it is to keep the same, when it is once brought into the meane, and to hold it in the stay it is found in, but when it bursteth out once with a vehemence, & hath gotten into an unruly disorder, it spreadeth so fast, & overfloweth all honest mens resisting so violently, that it will be hard to recover the breach of long time againe, except with great and wise counsell, which no doubt shall be in season used, there be wonderfull remedies sought therefore. And even as a man falling, is easier holden up by stay, than when he is fallen downe, he is able to rise againe, so is the Commonwealth slipping, by the foresight of wisdome, better kept from ruine, then when it is once fallen into any kinde of misery, the same may be called againe to the old and former state. Doe we not evidently know, that a man may better keep his arm

or

or his leg from breaking or falling out of joint, afore hurt come to it, then after the hurt, it may safely and quietly be healed, & restored to the former strength and health againe? And now through your seditious meanes, things that were afore quiet and in good order, lawes feared and obeyed, subjects ruled & kept in dutie, be all now in a great disorder, and like if it be not holpen, to grow to wildnesse, and a beastlinesse, seeing that neither common dutie can be kept, which nature prescribeth, nor common law can bee regarded, which policie requireth. How can yee keep your own if yee keep no order, your wife and children, how can they be defended from other mens violence, if yee will in other things break all order, by what reason would yee be obeyed of yours as servants, if yee will not obey the King as subjects, how would ye have others deale orderly with you, if yee will use disorder against all others? Seeing then there is such a confusion now of things, such a turmoile of men, such a disorder of fashions, who can look to live quietly a great while, who can think but that yee have miserably tossed the Commonwealth, and so vexed all men with disorder, that the inconvenience hereof, cannot only nip others, but also touch you.

But now see how that not only these unlooked for mischiefes, have heavily growne on yee, but also those commodities which yee thought to have holpen your selves and others by, be not only hindered but also hurt thereby. The Kings Majestie by the advise &c. intended a just reformation, of all such

things as poore men could truly ſhew themſelves oppreſſed with, thinking equalitie of juſtice, to bee the Diadem of his Kingdome, and the ſafegard of his commons. Which was not onely intended by wiſdome, but alſo ſet on with ſpeed, and ſo entred into a due conſidering of all ſtates, that none ſhould have juſt cauſe to grudge againſt the other, when as every thing rightfully had, nothing could be but unrightfully grudged at. And this would have beene done, not onely with your glad and willing aſſent, but alſo been done by this day almoſt throughout the whole Realme, ſo that quietly it had been obtained without inconvenience, & ſpeedily without delay. And whatſoever had been done by the Kings Majeſties authoritie, that would by right have remained for ever, and ſo taken in law, that the contrary partie, neither could by juſtice, neither would by boldneſſe, have enterpriſed the breake thereof. But leaſt wicked men ſhould be wealthy, and they whoſe hearts be not truly bent to obedience, ſhould obtain at the Kings hand, that they deſerved not in a Commonwealth, yee have marvellouſly & worthily hurt your ſelves, and graciouſly provided except the Kings goodneſſe be more unto you then your own deſerts can claime, that yee be not ſo much worthie as to be benefitted in any kinde, as yee be worthie to loſe that ye have on every ſide. Yee have thought good to be your own reformers belike, not onely unnaturally miſtruſting the Kings juſtice, but alſo cruelly and uncivilly dealing with your own neighbours. Wherein I would as yee have hurt the whole

Realme

Realme, ſo ye had not enterpriſed a thing moſt dangerouſly to your ſelves, and moſt contrary to the thing yee intended. If yee had let things alone, thought good by your ſelves to be redreſſed, & dutifully looked for the performance of that the Kings Majeſtie promiſed reformatiõ, they ſhould not have been undone at this time, as in a great ſort of honeſt places they be, nor thoſe countries who for their quietneſſe be moſt worthie to be looked on, ſhould have been unprovided for at this day. But this commodity hath happened by the way, that it is evidently knowne by your miſchiefe, that others dutie, who be moſt true to the King, and moſt worthie to bee done for, and who be moſt pernitious and traiterous Rebels. And it is not to be doubted, but they ſhall be conſidered with thanks, and finde juſt redreſſe without deſerved miſery, and you puniſhed like Rebels, who might have had both praiſe and profit like ſubjects. For that as yee have valiantly done of your ſelves, think yee it will ſtand any longer, then men feare your rage, which cannot endure long, and that yee ſhall not then bide the rigor of the law, for your private injuries, as yee uſed the furie of your braines in other mens oppreſſions? Will men ſuffer wrong at your hands when law can redreſſe, and the right of the Commonwealth will maintaine it, and good order in Countries will beare it? Yee amend faults as ill Chyrurgions heale ſores, which when they ſeem to be whole above, they rankle at the bottom, and ſo be faine continually to be ſore, or elſe be mended by new breaking of the skin. Your redreſſe ſeemeth

meth to you perfect & good, yee have pulled down ſuch things as yee would, yee think now all is well, yee conſider no farther, yee ſeek not the bottome, yee ſee not the ſore, that yee have done it by no law, yee have redreſſed it by no order, what then? If it be none otherwiſe ſearched then by you, it will not tarry long ſo, either it will be after continually, as it was afore your comming, or elſe it muſt be when all is done, amended by the King.

Thus have yee both lacked in the time, and miſt in the doing, and yet beſides that yee have done, which is by your doing to no purpoſe, yee have done the things with ſuch inconveniences, as hath been both before rehearſed, and ſhall be after declared, that better it had been for you, never to have enjoyed the commoditie, if there be any, then to ſuffer the griefes that will enſue, which be very many. In every quarter ſome men whom yee ſet by will bee loſt, which every one of you if yee have love in yee, would rather have lacked the profit of your incloſures, then cauſe ſuch deſtruction of them, as is like by reaſon and judgement neceſſarily to follow. What Commonwealth is it then, to doe ſuch abominable enterpriſes after ſo vile a ſort, that yee hinder that good yee would doe, and bring in that hurt yee would not, and ſo finde that yee ſeek not, & follow that yee loſe, and deſtroy your ſelves by folly, rather then yee would be ordered by reaſon, and ſo have not ſo much amended your old ſores, as brought in new plagues, which yee your ſelves that deſerve them will lament, and we which have not

deſerved

deſerved them may curſe you for. For although the Kings Majeſtie &c. intended for your profits a reformation in his Commonwealth, yet his pleaſure was not, nor no reaſon gave it, that every ſubject ſhould buſily entermedle with it of their own head, but onely thoſe whom his Councell thought moſt meet men for ſuch an honeſt purpoſe. The Kings Majeſtie &c. hath godly reformed an unclean part of religion, and hath brought it to the true forme of the firſt Church that followed Chriſt, thinking that to be the trueſt, not what latter mens fancies have of themſelves deviſed, but what the Apoſtles and their fellowes had at Chriſts hand received, and willeth the ſame to be knowne and ſet abroad to all his people. Shall every man now that liſteth & fancieth the ſame, take in hand uncalled, to be a Miniſter, and to ſet forth the ſame, having no authoritie? Nay, though the thing were very godly that were done, yet the perſon muſt needs doe ill that enterpriſeth it, becauſe he doth a good thing after an ill ſort, and looketh but on a litle part of dutie, conſidering the thing, and leaveth a great part unadviſed, not conſidering the perſon, when as in a well and juſtly done matter, not only theſe two things ought well to bee weighed, but alſo good occaſion of time, and reaſonable cauſe of the doing, ought alſo much to be ſet afore every doers eyes. Now in this your deed, the manner is ungodly, the thing unſufferable, the cauſe wicked, the perſon ſeditious, the time traiterous, and can yee poſſibly by any honeſt defence of reaſon, or any good conſcience religiouſly grounded, deny that

this malitious and horrible fault, ſo wickedly ſet on, is not only ſinfull afore God, and traiterous to the King, but alſo deadly and peſtilent to the whole Commonwealth of our Countrie, and ſo not onely overfloweth us with the miſerie, but alſo overwhelmeth you with the rage thereof?

Yet further ſee, and yee be not weary, with the multitude of miſeries, which yee have marvellouſly moved, what a yoke yee wilfully doe bring on your ſelves, in ſtirring up this deteſtable ſedition, and ſo bring your ſelves into a further ſlavery, if you uſe your ſelves often thus inobediently. When common order of the law can take no place in unruly and diſobedient ſubjects, and all men will of wilfulneſſe reſiſt with rage, and think their own violence to be the beſt juſtice, then be wiſe Magiſtrates compelled by neceſſity, to ſeek an extreame remedie, where meane ſalves help not, and bring in the Martiall law, where none other law ſerveth. Then muſt yee be contented to bide puniſhment without proceſſe, condemnation without witneſſe, ſuſpition is then taken for judgement, and diſpleaſure may be juſt cauſe of your execution, & ſo without favour yee finde ſtraitneſſe, which without rule ſeek violence. Yee think it a hard law and unſufferable. It is ſo indeed, but yet good for a medicine. Deſperate ſickneſſe in phyſick muſt have deſperate remedies, for mean medicines will never help great griefes. So if yee caſt your ſelves into ſuch ſharp diſeaſes, yee muſt needs look for ſharp medicines again at your Phyſitians hands. And worthie yee be to ſuffer the extremitie in a Com-

Commonwealth, which ſeek to doe the extremitie, and by reaſon muſt receive the like yee offer, and ſo be contented to bide the end willingly, which ſet on the beginning wilfully. For no greater ſhame can come to the Commonwealth, then that thoſe ſubjects which ſhould be obedient even without a law, cannot be contented to be ordered by the law, and by no meanes kept within their dutie, which ſhould every way offend rather then in their dutie. It is a token that the ſubjects lack reaſon, when they forſake law, and think either by their multitude to finde pardon, which cannot juſtly ſtretch to all, or elſe by ſtrength to beare the ſtroke, which cannot proſper againſt a king. They muſt needs litle conſider themſelves, who bring in this neceſſitie, rather to ſtand to the pleaſure of a mans will, then to abide the reaſon of the law, and to be endangered more when another man lifteth, than when himſelfe offendeth. And this muſt neceſſarily follow if your rebellion thus continue, and while yee ſeek to throwe downe the yoke which yee fancie your ſelves burdened withall, yee bring your ſelves in a greater bondage, leaving ſafetie and following danger, & putting your ſelves under the juſtice of them, whoſe favour yee might eaſily have kept, if yee would willingly and dutifully have ſerved. Now the Gentlemen be more in truſt, becauſe the Commons be untruſty, and they got by ſervice, which yee loſe by ſtubborneſſe, & therefore muſt needs, if yee thus continue, have more authoritie from the King, becauſe yee would be in leſſe ſubjection to the King, and that as yee will not doe of

your ſelves, yee muſt be compelled to doe by others, and that yee refuſe to doe willingly, think yee muſt be drawne to doe the ſame conſtrainedly. Which when it commeth to paſſe, as wiſdome ſeeth in your faults that it muſt needs, what gaine yee then, or what profit can ariſe to you by riſing, which might have found eaſe in ſitting ſtill, and what ſhall yee be at length the better for this turmoile, which beſide divers other incommodities rehearſed, ſhall be thus clogged with the unſufferable burden of the Martiall law.

Yet is there one thing behind, which me thinketh your ſelves ſhould not forget, ſeeing that yee have given the cauſe, yee ſhould duly look for the effect. Yee have ſpoiled, impriſoned, and threatned Gentlemen to death, and that with ſuch hatred of minde, as may not well be borne: the cauſe thereof I ſpeak not on, which tried will happily be not ſo great; but ſee the thing: ſet murther aſide, it is the hainouſeſt fault to a private man. What could more ſpightfully have been done againſt them, than ye have uſed with crueltie? Can this doe any other but breed in their ſtomacks great grudge of diſpleaſure toward you, and engender ſuch an hatred, as the weaker and the ſufferer muſt needs beare the ſmart thereof. The Kings beſt kinde of government is ſo to rule his ſubjects, as a father ordereth his children, and beſt life of obedient ſubjects is one to behave himſelfe to another as though they were brethren under the King their father. For love is not the knot onely of the Commonwealth, whereby divers parts be perfectly

joyned

joyned together in one politique bodie, but also the strength and might of the same, gathering together into a small room with order, which scattered would else breed confusion and debate. Dissention we see in small houses, and thereby may take example to great common-wealths, how it not only decayeth them from wealth, but also abateth them from strength. Think small examples to take place in great matters, and the like though not so great to follow in them both, and thereby learn to judge of great things unknowne, by small things perceived. When brethren agree not in a house, goeth not the weakest to the walls? and with whom the father taketh part withall, is not he the likest to prevaile? Is it not wisedome for a yonger brother, after the good will of the parents, to seek his eldest brothers favour, who under them is most able to doe for him? To seeke them both with honesty is wisedome, to loose them both by sullennesse is madnesse. Hath there not been daily benefits from the gentlemen to you, in some more, and in some lesse, but in none considered; which they have more friendly offered, then you have gently requited. This must ye lose, when ye will not be thankfull, and learn to gaine new good will by desert, when ye forsake the old friendship unprovoked. And ye must think that living in a common-wealth together, one kind hath need of an other, and yet a great sort of you more need of one gentleman, then one gentleman of a great sort of you: and though all be parts of one common-wealth, yet all be not like

worthy parts, but all being under obedience, ſome kind in more ſubjection one way, and ſome kind in more ſeruice another way. And ſeeing ye be leſſe able by money and liberality, to deſerue good will then other be, and your only kind of deſert is to ſhew good will, which honeſt men doe well accept as much worth as money, have ye not much hindered and hurt your ſelfe herein, looſing that one kind of humanity which ye have only left, and turning it into cruelty which ye ought moſt to abhor, not only becauſe it is wicked of it ſelfe, but alſo moſt noyſome to you. I can therefore for my part think no leſſe herein, but ye muſt find ſome inconvenience herein, if you follow your ſtifneſſe ſtill, & muſt needs judge that ye have wilfully brought on your ſelues ſuch plagues, as the like could not have fallen on you, but by your ſelues. Seing then thus many wayes ye have hurt the common-wealth of this whole Country within, by deſtruction of Shieres, looſing of harueſt, waſting of victuall, decaying of manrode, undoing of Farmers, encreaſing of Vagabonds, maintaining of diſorder, hindering of redreſſes, bringing in of Martiall law, and breeding continual hatred amongſt divers ſtates, what think ye I pray you, judge ye not that ye have committed an odious and deteſtable crime againſt the whole common-wealth, whoſe furtherance ye ought to have tendered by duty, and not to have ſought the hurt thereof with your owne dammage.

Beſides all theſe inwar d griefs, which every one ſeverally muſt needs feele with miſery, there hap-

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neth ſo many outward miſchances, among ſtrangers to us with diſdaine, that if there were nothing ill within the Realme which we ſhould feele, yet the ſhame which doth touch us from other countries ſhould not only move, but alſo compell you hartily to forethink this your rebellious ſedition. For what ſhall ſtrangers think, when they ſhall heare of the great miſorder, which is in this Realme, with ſuch a confuſion, that no order of law can keep you under, but muſt be faine to be beaten downe with a Kings power? Shall they not firſt think the Kings majeſtie, in whoſe mind God hath powred ſo much hope for a child, as we may look for gifts in a man, either for his age to be little ſet by, or for lack of qualities not to be regarded, or for default of love to be reſiſted, and no notable grace of God in him conſidered, nor the worthineſſe of his office looked upon, nor naturall obedience due to him remembred. Shall they not next ſuppoſe, ſmall eſtimation to be given to the rulers, to whom under the King we owe due obedience, that cannot in juſt & lawfull matters be heard, nor men to have that right judgment of their wiſedome, as their juſtice in rule, and foreſight in counſell requireth, but rather prefer their owne fancies before others experience, and deeme their owne reaſon to be common-wealth, and other mens wiſedome to be but dreaming? Shall they not truely ſay the Subjects to be more unfaithfull in diſobedience, then other Subjects worſe ordered be, and licence of liberty to make wild heads without order, and that they

they neither haue reaſon, that vnderſtand not the miſchiefe of ſedition, nor duty which follow their beaſtlyneſſe, nor love in them which ſo little remember the common wealth, nor naturall affection which will dayly ſeeke their owne deſtruction? Thus the whole Country lacking the good opinion of other nations, is caſt into great ſhame by your vnrulineſſe, and the proceedings of the Country, be they never ſo godly, ſhall be ill ſpoken of, as vnfit to be brought into vſe, and good things hereby that deſerveth praiſe, ſhall bide the rebuke of them that liſt to ſpeake ill, and ill things untouched ſhall be boldlyer maintayned. Nothing may with praiſe be redreſſed, where things be meaſured by chanceable diſorder, rather then by neceſſary vſe; and that is thought moſt politike, that men will be beſt contented to doe, and not that which men ſhould be brought vnto by duty. And with what duty or vertue in ye can ye quench out of mens memories this foule enterpriſe, or gather a good report againe to this Realme, who have ſo vilely with reproach ſlaundered the ſame, and diverſly diſcredited it among others, and abated the good opinion which was had of the iuſt goverment and ruled order, vſed heretofore in this noble Realme, which is now moſt grievous, becauſe it is now moſt without cauſe.

If this outward opinion, without further inconvenience were all, yet it might well be borne & would with eaſe, decay that it grew, but it hath not onely hurt us with voyce, but endangered us in deed, and caſt

caſt us a great deale behinde the hand, where elſe we might have had a jolly foredeale. For that opportunitie of time, which ſeldome chanceth, and is alwaies to be taken, hath been by your froward meanes loſt this yeare, and ſo vainely ſpent at home for bringing downe of you, which ſhould elſe profitably have been otherwiſe beſtowed, that it hath been almoſt as great a loſſe to us abroad, to lack that which wee might have obtained, as it was combrance at home, to goe about the overthrowe of you, whoſe ſedition is to be abhorred. And we might both conveniently have invaded ſome, if they would not reaſonably have growne to ſome kinde of friendſhip, and alſo defended other, which would beſide promiſe, for times ſake, unjuſtly ſet upon us: and eaſily have made this ſtormy time a faire yeare unto us, if our men had been ſo happy at home, as our likelihood abroad was fortunate. But what is it, I pray you, either to let ſlip ſuch an occaſion by negligence, or to ſtop it by ſtubborneſſe, which once paſt away, can be by no meanes recovered, no not though with diligence yee goe about to re-enforce the ſame againe.

If yee would with wickedneſſe have forſaken your faith to your naturall Country, & have ſought crafty meanes to have utterly betrayed it to our common enimies, could yee have had any other ſpeedier way then this is, both to make our ſtrength weak, and their weakneſſe ſtrong? If yee would have ſought to have ſpighted your countrey, and to have pleaſed your enimie, and follow their counſell for our hinderance, could yee have had deviſed of them

any thing more ſhamefull for us, & joyfull to them? If they which lie like Spyals, and harken after likelihoods of things to come, becauſe they declare opportunitie of times to the enimie, are to bee judged common enimies of the Countrie, what ſhall wee reaſonably think of you, who doe not ſecretly bewray the counſels of others, but openly betray the Commonwealth with your own deeds, and have as much as lyeth in you, ſought the overthrowe of it at home, which if yee had obtained at Gods hand, as he never alloweth ſo horrible an enterpriſe, how could yee have defended it from the overthrow of other abroad? For is your underſtanding of things ſo ſmall, that although you ſee your ſelves not unfit to get the upperhand of a few Gentlemen, that yee be able to beat downe afore you the Kings power? yea and by chance yee were able to doe that, would yee judge your ſelves by ſtrength mighty enough to reſiſt the power of outward nations, that for praiſe ſake would invade yee? Nay, think truly with your ſelves, that if yee doe overcome, yee be unſure both by ſtrength abroad, and diſpleaſure of honeſt men at home, and by the puniſhment of the God above. And now yee have not yet gotten indeed, that your vaine hope looketh for by fancie, think how certainly yee have wounded the Commonwealth with a ſore ſtroke, in procuring our enimies by our weakneſſe to ſeek victory, and by our outward miſerie to ſeek outward glory, with inward diſhonour, which howſoever they get, think it to be long of you, who have offered them victory, afore they began

gan warre, becauſe yee would declare to men hereafter belike, how dangerous it is to make ſtirres at home, when they doe not onely make our ſelves weake, but alſo our enimies ſtrong.

Beſides theſe there is another ſort of men, deſirous of advantage, and diſdainfull of our wealth, whoſe griefe is moſt our greateſt hap, and be offended with religion, becauſe they be drowned in ſuperſtition, men zealed toward God, but not fit to judge, meaning better without knowledge, then they judge by their meaning, worthier whoſe ignorance ſhould be taken away, then their will ſhould be followed, whom we ſhould more rebuke for their ſtubbornneſſe, then deſpiſe for their ignorance. Theſe ſeeing ſuperſtition beaten downe, and religion ſet up, Gods word taking place, traditions kept in their kinde, difference made betweene Gods Commandements & mans learning, the truth of things ſought out according to Chriſts inſtitution, examples taken of the Primitive Churches uſe, not at the Biſhop of *Romes* ordinance, and true worſhip taught, and wil-worſhip refuſed, doe by blindnes rebuke that which by truth they ſhould follow, & by affectiō follow that which by knowledge they ſhould abhorre, thinking uſage to be truth, and Scripture to be errour, not waying by the word, but miſconſtruing by cuſtome. And now things be changed to the better, and Religion trulier appointed, they ſee matters goe awry, which hurteth the whole Realme, and they rejoyce in this miſchiefe, as a thing worthily happened, miſtaking the cauſe, and ſlandering Religion, as though there

were no cauſe, why God might have puniſhed, if their uſed profeſſion might ſtill have taken place. They ſee not that where Gods glory is trulieſt ſet forth, there the Divell is moſt buſie for his part, & laboureth to corrupt by lewdnes, that which is gotten out by the truth, thinking that if it were not blemiſhed at the firſt, the reſidue of his falſehood ſhould after leſſe prevaile. So he troubleth by by-waies, that he cannot plainly withſtand; and uſeth ſubtiltie of Sophiſtrie, where plaine reaſon faileth; and perſuadeth ſimple men, that to be a cauſe, which indeed cannot be tryed and taken for a cauſe. So he cauſeth religion, which teacheth obedience, to be judged the cauſe of ſedition; and the doctrine of love, the ſeed of diſſention; miſtaking the thing, but perſwading mens mindes, and abuſing the plain meaning of the honeſt, to a wicked end of religions overthrowe. the husbandman had not ſo ſoone throwne ſeed in his ground, but ſteppeth up the enimy, and he ſoweth cockle too: & maketh men doubt, whether the good husband had done well or no, and whether hee had ſowne there good ſeed or bad. The fancifull Iewes in Egypt would not believe *Ieremie*, but thought their plague & their miſery to come by his meanes; and leaving off Idolatry to be the cauſe of penury: wherefore by wilfull advice they intended to forſake the Prophets counſell, & thought to ſerve God moſt truly by their rooted and accuſtomed Idolatry. When the Chriſtian men were perſecuted in the Primitive Church, and daily ſuffered Martyrdome for Chriſts profeſſion, ſuch faire ſeaſon of weather

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was for three or foure yeare together, that the Heathen judged thereupon, God to be delighted with their crueltie, and so were perſuaded that with the bloud of the Martyrs, they pleaſed God highly. Such fancies lighted now in Papiſts, and irreligious mens heads, and joyne things by chance happening together, and conclude the one to be the cauſe of the other, and then delight in true worſhippers hurt, becauſe they judge curſedly the good to bee bad, and therefore rejoyce in the puniſhment of the godly. For they being fleſhly, judge by outward things, and perceive not the inward, for that they lack the ſpirit: and ſo judge amiſſe, not underſtanding God, what diverſitie he ſuffereth to blinde ſtill the wilfull, and how through all dangers he ſaveth his fore-choſen. Thus have yee given a large occaſion to ſtubborne Papiſts, both to judge amiſſe, and alſo to rejoyce in this wicked chance, contented with our miſchiefe, not liking our religion, and thinking God doth puniſh for this better change, and have thereby an ill opinion of Gods holy truth, confirmed in the by no ſure ſcripture, but by following of miſchance, which they ought to think to come for the pride and ſtubborneſſe of the people, who doth not accept Gods glory in good part, nor give no due praiſe to their Lord and maker.

What ſhould I ſay more? Yee hurt every way, the dangers be ſo great, & the perils ſo many, which doe daily follow your divelliſh enterpriſe, that the more I ſeek in the matter, the more I continually ſee to ſay. And what words can worthily declare this

miſerable beaſtlineſſe of yours, which have intended to divide the Realme, and arme the one part for the killing of the other? For even as concord is not only the health, but alſo the ſtrength of the Realme, ſo is ſedition not only the weakneſſe, but alſo the apoſteme of the Realme, which when it breaketh inwardly, putteth the ſtate in great danger of recoverie, and corrupteth the whole Commonwealth with the rotten furie, that it hath long putrified with. For it is not in ſedition as in other faults, which being miſchievous of themſelves, have ſome notable hurt alwaies faſt adjoyned to them, but in this one is there a whole hell of faults, not ſeverally ſcattered, but cluſtred on a lump together, & cõming on ſo thick, that it is unpoſſible for a Region armed with all kind of wiſdome and ſtrength thereto, to avoid the dangers that iſſue out thereof. When ſedition once breaketh out, ſee yee not the lawes overthrown, the Magiſtrates diſpiſed, ſpoiling of houſes, murdering of men, waſting of countries, increaſe of diſorder, diminiſhing of the Realmes ſtrength, ſwarming of vagabonds, ſcarcitie of labourers, and thoſe miſchiefes all plenteouſly brought in, wch God is wont to ſcourge ſeverely with all war, dearth, & peſtilence? And ſeeing yee have theft and murder, plague and famine, confuſion and idleneſſe linked together, can yee look for any more miſchiefe in one ſhamefull enterpriſe, then yee evidently ſee to grow herein? As for warre, although it be miſerable, yet the one part getteth ſomewhat, and rejoyceth in the ſpoile, and ſo goeth luſtier away, and either increaſeth his Country with

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riches, or enhaunceth himselfe with glory: but in sedition both the parts loseth; the overcommed cannot fly, the overcommer cannot spoile; the more the winner winneth, the more he loseth; the more that escape, the more infamous men live; all that is gained, is scarcely saved; the winning is losse, the losse is destruction; both waste themselves, & the whole most wasted; the strengthning of themselves, the decay of the country; the striving for the victory, is a prey to the enimie: and shortly to say, the hellish turmoile of sedition, so far passeth the common misery of war, as to slay himselfe is more heynous then to be slain of another. O noble peace! what wealth bringest thou in! how doth all things flourish in field and in towne! what forwardnes of religion, what increase of learning, what gravity in counsell, what devise of wit, what order of manners, what obedience of lawes, what reverence of states, what safegard of houses, what quietnesse of life, what honour of Countries, what friendship of mindes, what honesty of pleasure hast thou alwaies maintained! whose happinesse we knew not, while now we feele the lack, and shall learne by misery to understand plentie, and so to avoid mischiefe, by the hurt that it bringeth, and learne to serue better, where rebellion is once knowne, and so to live truly, & keep the Kings peace. What good state were yee in afore yee began: not pricked with povertie, but stirred with mischiefe, to seek your destruction: having waies to redresse all that was amisse, Magistrates most ready to tender all justice, and pittifull in hearing the poor mens causes, which sought to amend matters more then you can devise, and were ready to redresse them better then yee could imagine: & yet for a headinesse ye could not be contented, but in despite of God, who commandeth obedience, and in contempt of the King, whose lawes seeke your wealth, and to overthrowe the Countrie, which naturally we should love, yee would proudly rise, and doe ye wot not

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what, and amend things by rebellion to your utter undoing. What ſtate leave yee us in now? beſieged with enimies, divided at home, made poore with ſpoile and loſſe of our Harveſt, unordered and caſt downe with ſlaughter and hatred, hindered from amendmẽts by your own divelliſh haſt, endangered with ſickneſſes by reaſon of miſorder, laid open to mens pleaſures for breaking of the lawes, and feebled to ſuch faintneſſe, that ſcarcely it will be recovered.

Wherefore, for Gods ſake, have pittie on your ſelves: conſider how miſerably yee have ſpoiled, deſtroyed, and waſted us all: and if for deſperateneſſe yee care not for your ſelves, yet remember your wiues, your children, your country, and forſake this rebellion, with humble ſubmiſſion acknowledge your faults, & tarry not the extremity of the Kings ſword, leave off with repentance, & turne to your duties, aske God forgiveues, ſubmit yee to your King, be contented for a Commonwealth one or two to die, and yee Captaines for the reſidue ſacrifice your ſelves. yee ſhall ſo beſt attain the Kings gracious pardon, ſave the aſſembly, & help the Commonwealth, & declare your doings to proceed of no ſtubborneſſe, but all this miſchiefe to grow out of ignorance, which ſeeing the miſery, would redreſs the fault, and for recover beſt the blot of your diſorder, and ſtay the great miſeries which be like to follow. Thus if yee doe not, think truly with your ſelves, that God is angry with you for your rebellion, the Kings ſword drawn to defend his country, the cry of the poore to God againſt yee, the readineſſe of the honeſt in armour to vanquiſh yee, your death to bee at hand, which yee cannot eſcape, having God againſt ye, as he promiſeth in his word, the Kings power to overthrow yee gathered in the field, the Commõwealth to beat yee down with ſtripes and with curſes, the ſhame of your miſchiefe to blemiſh yee for ever.

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